

BOSNIAN GENOCIDE

THE ESSENTIAL REFERENCE GUIDE



Paul R. Bartrop, Editor

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ABC-CLIO™

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To those who survived the horrors of the 1990s
and in memory
of those who did not.

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Preface

On November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, precipitating massive political change throughout Central and Eastern Europe. One by one, communist regimes, many of which had already been destabilized by economic insecurities, collapsed—in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Only Yugoslavia, which had not been part of the Soviet empire, remained of the Cold War–era communist states.

The future would be an agony of the worst kind; it would arrive through blood and fire, in tears and sorrow, seeing the very destruction of the country—which would ultimately be fragmented into seven new nation-states.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia began in 1991 and continued until 1999. The worst of the mayhem took place between 1992 and 1995, and culminated—in the 50th anniversary year of the end of World War II—with the worst massacre on European soil since the Holocaust.

The entries in this book go a long way toward explaining how the conflict played out. They examine the leaders, ideas, movements, and events of the Bosnian War, placing the war into the earlier context of Yugoslavia's history. As the forces unleashed by the collapse of Yugoslavia did not end in 1995, this book pursues the war's horrific aftermath—one which led to another war in 1999, when the forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization combined to defeat the prospect of a further genocide, this time in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

It was a shocking way to usher in the new century but, as this had been the “Century of Genocide,” perhaps it was apt. After all, united international action to stop the possibility of genocide was at least an improvement on the inaction that had characterized nearly all responses across the previous hundred years.

The contributors to this volume have brought exacting standards to the task of enlightening readers as to what happened in this final paroxysm of 20th-century violence. In many cases, their task has been difficult, owing to the murky nature of the conflicts being examined. That said, it is hoped that the entries presented here will contribute to readers' understanding of the period under discussion and the awful events of that time.

As editor of this volume, I would like to place on record just a few statements of thanks. Padraic (Pat) Carlin of ABC-CLIO suggested the project, and has at all times provided unstinting assistance with both good humor and forbearance. Many of my students at Florida Gulf Coast University showed interest as the project took shape, and I was fortunate in being offered the eager help of two in particular, Danielle Drew and Elizabeth Snyder. As always, Steven Leonard Jacobs from the University of Alabama and Michael Dickerman from Stockton University kept a watching brief on my physical and intellectual health throughout the process, and for their friendship I remain perpetually grateful.

Finally, as in all my projects, I cannot let the opportunity pass without conveying my ongoing thanks to my dear wife, Eve. She accompanied me on my first visit to Sarajevo in 2005, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the genocidal massacre at Srebrenica. Conquering her fears of entering what had so recently been a war zone, she not only braved Srebrenica, but together we survived the 7/7 terrorist attacks in London two days before we went to Bosnia. In many respects, this characterizes our relationship; for all that life can throw at us, and often despite the odds, we endure. May it be ever so.

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BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



BOSNIAN GENOCIDE, 1992–1995



CROATIA



Kosovo



MONTENEGRO



SERBIA



Bosnian Genocide Overview

Located in the Balkan Peninsula, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a geographically diverse country bordered by Croatia (to the north, west, and south), Serbia (east), and Montenegro (southeast). In the 1990s, Bosnia became the center of a policy of ethnic cleansing enacted by Serbian authorities in an attempt to create a more ethnically homogenous region amid the context of war.

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1992) united six equal states—Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia—in “Brotherhood and Unity,” the national credo of Josip Broz Tito, the leader of Yugoslavia. Tito expected citizens to set aside ethno-national affiliation and embrace broader Yugoslav identity. A system of checks and balances ensured peace, cooperation, and equality among the region’s peoples; and through common cultural roots and shared historical experiences pan-Slavic unity was emphasized. Most people were generally content with their identity as Yugoslavs. Yugoslavia’s comparatively open socialism, Cold War neutrality, and prominence in the Non-Aligned Movement allowed for relatively high living standards, unrestricted international travel, and flourishing cultural life. Moreover, “Brotherhood and Unity” particularly suited Bosnia’s multiethnic society, and Bosnia thrived in Tito’s prosperous and stable Yugoslavia, even hosting the 1984 Winter Olympics.

After nearly 40 years in power, Tito’s death in 1980 left a political vacuum. As the Soviet Bloc disintegrated, Yugoslavia lost global strategic importance and the economic opportunities of Cold War neutrality evaporated. By the mid-1980s, without strong national leadership, economic collapse loomed. Opportunistic politicians seized upon Yugoslavia’s instability, especially in Serbia and Croatia, rallying support through fear-based nationalist appeals.

Slobodan Milosevic ascended to power in Serbia, blaming the “ethnic other” for the nation’s crises, using historical tragedies to imply impending contemporary threats (“Ustashe” Croats, “Turk” Bosniaks), and advocating “Serbian unity” as the solution. This fueled the ascension of his Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, whose equally reductionist nationalism increased instability and mistrust in Croatia. By 1990, “Brotherhood and Unity” had crumbled under the weight of xenophobic hysteria.

By June 1991, Milosevic’s growing influence upset Yugoslavia’s delicate balance. Slovenia seceded, gaining independence after a “Ten-Day War.” The Croatian War soon followed (1991–1992). Violence in Croatia’s Krajina region, with a significant ethnic-Serb population, continued through 1995. Meanwhile, as ethnic tensions escalated, Bosnia’s political situation grew progressively tenuous. Convinced that remaining in Serb-dominated “rump Yugoslavia” would be disastrous to peaceful multiethnic coexistence, on March 1, 1992, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks voted for an independent Bosnia under Bosniak president Alija Izetbegovic. Staunchly against separation from Serbia, Bosnian Serbs declared an independent Bosnian Serb Republic (under President Radovan Karadzic). Immediately, Serbian paramilitary groups began “ethnic cleansing”: burning homes, raping, forcibly deporting civilians (some to concentration camps), and killing all non-Serbs in eastern Bosnia. Meanwhile, the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) surrounded Sarajevo, beginning the city’s nearly four-year siege. Within a month, Serb forces controlled 70 percent of Bosnia.

In April 1992, the international community recognized Bosnia’s independence. As a result, in early May 1992, Milosevic withdrew JNA forces, leaving weapons, artillery, and supplies. Bosnian Serb JNA soldiers became the Bosnian Serb Army (VRS) (under General Ratko Mladic). Influenced by Milosevic’s claims of a civil war with which Serbia had no part, and the UN had no business, the JNA’s official withdrawal placated Western politicians and journalists, quick to characterize the violence as inevitable civil war among three equal eternally fighting ethnic groups. While certainly there were perpetrators and victims on all sides, to characterize the war as an inevitable conflict among equal “age-old” ethnic adversaries is inaccurate. The animosities triggering this conflict resulted from modern manipulations of historical events (and hence were neither inevitable nor “age-old”). More importantly, the parties to this conflict were not equal. Serb forces targeted Bosniaks in a coordinated ethnic cleansing strategy and Serb forces held all the weapons and power of the JNA. The fight could hardly be fair. These misperceptions along with the recent

Croatian War further led to a UN arms embargo, disproportionately impacting Bosniaks who, with no parent state or organized army, were already at a disadvantage.

Repeatedly shifting Croatian allegiance further complicated both the conflict and international understanding. Initially, Bosnian Croat forces (HVO) aligned with the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ARBiH) but, in May 1992, the HVO joined the VRS against the ARBiH. This short-lived alliance soon gave way to the tripartite war. The VRS (supported by Milosevic in Serbia) fought to unite Bosnia in Greater Serbia. The HVO (supported by Croatia's President Tudjman) fought to unite Bosnia in Greater Croatia. The ARBiH (a largely defenseless and hastily organized ragtag group of Bosniaks and some others) fought for multiethnic Bosnia's survival. Moreover, UN decisions and (in)actions often exacerbated the situation. The mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia was observational and humanitarian, and even humanitarian efforts were plagued by misinformation and error. Airdrops often left pallets miles away from targets, forcing civilians to risk rough terrain, landmines, and snipers to retrieve much-needed supplies. Although aid convoys offered some relief, local militias took full advantage of UNPROFOR's weak mandate, blocking some transports, allowing others to pass only after looting, and sometimes hijacking lightly armed UNPROFOR convoys to confiscate weapons and vehicles. Overall, from the arms embargo to botched peacekeeping, bungled aid-drops, and anemic conflict-mediation attempts, the international community vacillated from bystander to peace obstacle to collaborator in some of the war's worst atrocities.

The 1995 Srebrenica genocide, the apex of Serbian ethnic cleansing campaigns, is particularly emblematic of the international community's most critical shortcomings throughout the war. In July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces, with support from the "rump-Yugoslavia's" Serbian leadership and Serb paramilitary forces, deported as many as 30,000 Bosniak civilians while massacring more than 8,000 Bosniak men and boys. (The International Commission on Missing Persons puts the current official death toll at 8,372.) Despite status as an official UN "safe area," UNPROFOR soldiers dispatched to protect Srebrenica's refugees (as many as 60,000 Bosniaks) were forbidden to engage unless explicitly provoked. As a result, UNPROFOR stood by, even helping to facilitate the Srebrenica Massacre.

Finally, in December 1995, the Dayton Agreement ended the Bosnian War. While no one was fully satisfied, Bosnia would be a single state divided into two

nations: a Muslim-Croat Federation with 51 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina (including Sarajevo) and the Bosnian Serb Republic with 49 percent. Today, an uneasy peace persists. Bosnia remains a divided nation. Many Bosnian schools maintain a “two schools under one roof” policy, separating children of different ethnicities. War’s physical, emotional, and social scars still mar the landscape. Half of the displaced people have not returned. Ethnically biased local media still proliferate. In the end, the Bosnian War left as many as 50 percent of Bosnian homes destroyed, 2 million Bosnians displaced, 50,000 women and girls raped, and 100,000 civilians dead, as well as 326 UNPROFOR casualties.

Christina M. Morus

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Bosnian Genocide Causes

Beginning in 1991, the constituent states of Yugoslavia seceded, and campaigns of destruction, intimidation, expulsion, imprisonment, torture, rape, and murder propelled the term “ethnic cleansing” into global consciousness. The bloodiest chapter of Yugoslavia’s disintegration was the Bosnian War (1992–1995), leaving as many as 50 percent of Bosnian homes destroyed, 2 million Bosnians displaced, 50,000 women and girls raped, and 100,000 dead. The July 1995 Srebrenica genocide, the apex of ethnic cleansing and sole event of the Bosnian War that the United Nations (UN) has called “genocide,” ended in more than 25,000 people’s forcible deportation and more than 8,000 massacred.

Serbia’s Slobodan Milosevic and Croatia’s Franjo Tudjman each wanted Bosnia for “Greater Serbia” and “Greater Croatia,” respectively. Yet behind any conflict are multiple, complex, interdependent causes—many players and moving parts culminating in a “perfect storm” of factors aligning at precisely the right moment. These men could not have come to power, nor would the forcible creation of “Greater” nations have gained popular support, were it not for Yugoslavia’s decade of increasing instability and the decline of national unity and ensuing rise of ethno-nationalism to which it contributed. Understanding the multiple causes behind the Bosnian War and 1995 Srebrenica genocide means considering a host of factors, the first of which is “ethnicity” in the Yugoslav context.

The majority of Yugoslav peoples are physically and largely culturally indistinguishable, sharing South Slavic European genes, common cultural customs, and even a common language. In the absence of physical and cultural markers, their distinctive ethnic characteristic is religion. “Serb” is synonymous with Orthodox Christianity and “Croat” with Catholicism. Actual religious

commitment is inconsequential, as is citizenship. Croatian equals Catholic, and one is not Catholic if one is Serbian, regardless of one's passport. In turn "Bosniaks" are those whose ancestors converted to Islam in the Ottoman period.

At the end of World War II, Josip Broz Tito united six equal states in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. To foster Pan-Slavic "Brotherhood and Unity," Tito emphasized the shared history, common cultural roots, and peaceful cooperation among the region's peoples across the centuries, while downplaying periods of conflict and animosity. So long as Yugoslavia was prosperous and stable, with a high standard of living, unrestricted international travel, and a vibrant cultural scene, most citizens were content to be Yugoslavs. Yet, as dual political and economic crises intensified throughout the 1980s, people's confidence in the nation waned. Opportunistic politicians exploited growing insecurities, pitting the region's peoples against one another to gain power as Pan-Slavic unity dissolved and Yugoslavia grew increasingly untenable.

The causes behind the Bosnian War and ensuing Srebrenica genocide reflect a complex web of material factors coupled with political opportunism, media manipulation, and various internal and international players. While Yugoslav identity proliferated under Tito, his death in 1980 left a political vacuum. This alone may have been surmountable, but as the Soviet Bloc disintegrated Yugoslavia's strategic importance dissipated, as did the stability and economic opportunity that Cold War neutrality provided. By the mid-1980s, a lack of national leadership and looming economic collapse left people disillusioned with "Brotherhood and Unity." This uncertainty opened the door for opportunistic politicians who were not previously culturally relevant. In any context, some voices carry greater authority. Cultural relevance impacts authority. Under Tito, nationalists and religious elites were silenced through irrelevance. In the 1980s, these voices gained relevance by framing Tito's suppression of ethno-nationalism as the people's oppression, a denial of their true ethno-national history and culture. Capitalizing on contemporary crises to bolster relevance and hence cultural authority, these elites then used that authority to "re-educate" the people, using familiar cultural and historical elements to put a new spin on the past and present.

In this atmosphere, Milosevic ascended. Using blatantly nationalist appeals, Milosevic scapegoated the "ethnic other," presented Tito as the roadblock to Serbia's historical destiny, and advocated "Serbian unity" as the solution. While

a Yugoslav faced an uncertain and desolate future, a proud Serb could hope for better. For Yugoslavs, the roots of the nation's ills were diffuse and complicated, with none to lead the way. For Serbs, the source was obvious and the solution clear. This in turn fed rising Croatian ethno-nationalism, and as the competing divisive nationalist ideologies intensified, so did instability and mistrust in Bosnia. History increasingly became the fodder for this hysteria. Both Serbian and Croatian nationalists reinterpreted a past wherein the "other's" repeated historical insults culminated in the urgent need to band together against the next inevitable assault. For Serbs, this meant that from the mythic 1389 Battle of Kosovo and ensuing 500 years of Turkish domination, to the Croatian Ustashe atrocities of World War II, to Tito's alleged Serbian oppression, each insult flowed seamlessly from the last in a single narrative, with Serbs as tragic, martyred heroes. Obscuring historical complexities to repunctuate history with Serbian victimization framed modern Serbian aggression as self-defense.

Moreover, nationalist historical narratives influenced international journalists, world leaders, and even the UN, each of which inadvertently espoused nationalist interpretations of the past and present, particularly with regard to the ethnic nature of the conflict. International characterizations of "ethnic tensions" and "ethnic conflict" frequently reflected and reinforced exaggerated nationalist portrayals of distinct and timeless ethnic groups locked in eternal struggle. For nationalist leaders, the events that triggered this conflict began over 1,000 years ago. When international leaders and journalists root this contemporary conflict in a distant past they reinforce nationalist myths of historical inevitability, obfuscating the modern choices and contemporary material conditions behind the Bosnian War. Although nationalists promoted a historical view that inevitably culminated in the present need to eradicate an "other," the Bosnian War was not a predetermined outcome. While episodic conflict does punctuate the region's 1,000-year timeline, that history is much more heavily peppered with periods of peace. Contemporary politicians could easily have reflected historical ethnic cooperation (as Tito had). Instead, they presented modern war as history's inexorable zenith.

Overall, the causes of the Bosnian War and the 1995 Srebrenica genocide are an interlaced web of material conditions, political opportunism, and nationalist propaganda, all of which intersect at the point of public perception. To echo literary theorist Kenneth Burke in 1945, every narrative is a selection, reflection, and deflection of reality. Selecting what elements to include in a given historical narrative and how to talk about them inherently promotes (or reflects) a way of

understanding an event and precludes (or deflects) other possible interpretations. As there are various ways to tell the story of the Bosnian War, understanding its causes necessitates attention to the multiple selections of history used in the buildup to war, and how this impacted international opinions/actions during the war while also bearing in mind that any recounting of the war inherently privileges one way of seeing, thereby precluding others.

Christina M. Morus

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Bosnian Genocide Consequences

On December 9, 1948, the United Nations (UN) resolved to prevent and punish genocide in war and peace, wherever it may manifest. Each nation signing the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Resolution 260), promised “never again” to stand indifferent to a people’s extermination. Yet, in the second half of the 20th century genocide claimed millions of lives in places like Cambodia (1975–1979), Bangladesh (1971), Guatemala (1981–1983), and Rwanda (1994). The international community again failed to keep its promise when Bosnian Muslim (Bosniak) civilians were systematically executed in Srebrenica in the final throes of the Bosnian War (1992–1995).

The Bosnian War destroyed 50 percent of Bosnian homes, left 2 million people displaced, 50,000 raped, and 100,000 the victims of civilian casualties. The longest and bloodiest war accompanying the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1992), the Bosnian War began in March 1992 as Serb forces drove Bosniaks from eastern Bosnia through torture, mass rape, starvation, deportation, and concentration camps. With these “ethnic cleansing” campaigns Serb forces controlled 70 percent of Bosnia within one month. Although all sides committed and suffered atrocities, there is no doubt that Serb forces committed the lion’s share of crimes and Bosniaks comprised the majority of victims. Throughout this conflict, the UN naively believed its mere presence would curb the violence. In reality, a weak mandate and stodgy bureaucracy made the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia little more than a paper tiger, often party to the Bosnian War’s worst atrocities. Although UNPROFOR was a major presence in Bosnia by early 1993, the legacy of ethnic cleansing reached its zenith in 1995 with Europe’s second 20th-

century genocide in Srebrenica. More than an illustration of ethnic cleansing, the events in Srebrenica are a microcosm of the larger Bosnian War.

Known throughout Yugoslavia for its spa and silver mines, Srebrenica was a prosperous eastern Bosnian mountain town with a prewar population of around 6,000. By early 1993, 60,000 Bosniaks fleeing Serb ethnic cleansing campaigns expanded Srebrenica's population tenfold. As Serb forces blocked the town's supply road and cut off electricity, heat, and water, Srebrenica became a slow death camp. When UNPROFOR commander Philippe Morillon visited Srebrenica in March 1993, the freezing, starving, terrified residents surrounded him. Overwhelmed by their desperation, Morillon declared, "You are now under the protection of the United Nations. I will not abandon you."

In April 1993, to the relief of the tens of thousands of Bosniak refugees, UNPROFOR deployed Canadian troops to protect Srebrenica as one of five newly established UN "safe areas." Although occasional skirmishes and sporadic mortar attacks continued, UNPROFOR presence prevented an all-out assault on the safe area, and airdrops delivered supplies even when Serb forces blocked aid convoys.

In March 1994, UNPROFOR sent 600 Royal Dutch Army soldiers (Dutchbat) to relieve the Canadians. By the end of 1994, Serb hostilities increased and the region grew increasingly unstable. That winter, Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic ordered that Srebrenica should cut off from the outside world. By March 1995, Serb forces controlled all territory surrounding Srebrenica, preventing even UN access to the supply road. Humanitarian convoys stopped. Airdrops became less frequent and the retrieval of dropped supplies increasingly dangerous. Living conditions in Srebrenica deteriorated considerably. People died of starvation and cold, fuel and medical supplies waned, and residents grew desperate and fearful. In May 1995, even Dutchbat basic supplies dwindled. Dutchbat alerted UNPROFOR command to Srebrenica's dire conditions and to the increasing Serb military buildup, yet UNPROFOR declined to send humanitarian relief or military support. By July 1, 1995, seven people in Srebrenica had starved to death. Many Dutchbat soldiers, now living on subsistence rations amid an angry, terrified, and ever more desperate population, felt abandoned by UNPROFOR and questioned their mission's relevance. Against this backdrop the four-year Serbian ethnic cleansing crusade crested.

From July 6 to July 8, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked Srebrenica. After two days of relentless shelling, Dutchbat commander lieutenant colonel Thom

Karremans requested UNPROFOR air support. His request was denied. On July 9, when it was clear that neither the UN nor the loosely organized and poorly armed Bosniak army would defend the safe area, Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic led his troops into Srebrenica, taking 30 Dutchbat hostages. Still, UN command declined Karremans's second request for air support. On July 10, Mladic's troops terrorized Srebrenica's citizens and refugees flooded Dutchbat headquarters. Karremans's third request was denied. That evening, UN Command ranted Karremans's fourth request; 50 NATO planes would arrive by 6:00 a.m. At 9:00 a.m. on July 11, Karremans contacted UN headquarters to ask why air support had not materialized. He was told he had submitted his request using the wrong form. Finally, after Karremans's fifth request, at 2:30 p.m. on July 11, two NATO planes approached the besieged safe area, unloading a single bomb on Serb positions.

At 4:00 p.m. on July 11, confident the UN would not oppose him, General Mladic brought a Serbian camera crew to film his presentation of Srebrenica as a "gift to the Serbian people." With this, more than 25,000 Bosniaks sought refuge in and around Dutchbat headquarters. That evening, Serb cameras filmed a visibly shaken Karremans begging Mladic for a peaceful solution. The men finally reached an agreement—the Serbs would evacuate the Bosniaks and the UN would pay for buses and gasoline. That night, realizing Dutchbat would not protect them, a column of 15,000 Bosniaks (mostly men and boys) attempted to flee on foot. Their trek, more than 100 kilometers through mountains and forest, is known as the "Marathon of Death."

On the afternoon of July 12, Mladic handed chocolate to Bosniak children and addressed terrified refugees at Dutchbat headquarters while cameras rolled: "All who wish to go from here will be transported, large and small, young and old. Don't be afraid, just take it easy. Let the women and children go first ... No one will harm you."

Through that night and the next day, Dutchbat soldiers assisted Bosnian Serb troops, separating the men, maintaining calm, and loading the buses. When the last bus left Srebrenica at 7:00 p.m. on July 13, 23,000 civilians had been deported while Bosnian Serb soldiers and Serbian paramilitary groups massacred thousands of Bosniak men and boys ages 12 to 77, burying them in mass graves throughout eastern Bosnia. Over the next two weeks, the Marathon of Death column of 15,000 were ambushed, hunted, and terrorized; as many as 5,000 were killed. Some continued hiding in the forest for months. The last survivors of the

Marathon of Death emerged in May 1996—six months after the December 1995 Dayton Agreement ended the Bosnian War.

According to the International Commission on Missing Persons, Srebrenica's official death toll is 8,372. Yet 13,000 people are reported missing from Srebrenica—that is 38 percent of the total missing from the entire Bosnian War. Complicating the count, Serb forces later unearthed the mass graves, reburying the remains throughout Bosnia and Serbia. Hence, the exhumation of Srebrenica's victims continues as each year more graves are discovered.

Tens of thousands of people witnessed the role that the UN and Dutchbat had played, however unwittingly, in Europe's second 20th-century genocide. The Bosniak government, Dutch citizens, and many in the international community have advocated for recognition, apology, and reparations. Only a few lived to tell what happened after they were separated from their families. Some survived the Marathon of Death, while a handful miraculously survived mass executions. With their help, the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has indicted and tried those most responsible for planning and orchestrating the Srebrenica genocide. While some accused continue to deny their role, others have admitted guilt. Meanwhile, many Dutchbat soldiers have an overwhelming sense of regret and shame, and some have testified at the ICTY.

Many Srebrenica survivors are still traumatized, and many live in poverty. More than 20 years later, some still live in refugee camps, frozen in time and emotionally or physically unable to return to their prewar lives. Still, some survivors have built new lives. Groups like the Mothers of Srebrenica advocate for UN reparations, assistance from the Bosnian government, recognition and reparations from the Serbian government, and proper attention to the victims. These groups have been instrumental in establishing the Srebrenica memorial cemetery where, each July 11, tens of thousands commemorate Srebrenica's victims, including heads of state, diplomats, and UN delegates. The newly identified remains buried each year, amid prayers, speeches, and calls for global social justice, are a cathartic rallying point for Bosniaks—an identity reclaimed from the ashes of ethnic cleansing.

Christina M. Morus

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Bosnian Genocide Perpetrators

From early in the Bosnian War (1992–1995), Serb paramilitary forces used rape, torture, deportation, and slaughter against Bosniak civilians. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) viewed these acts as war crimes and crimes against humanity. It later became clear this was ethnic cleansing. As part of a coordinated Serbian and Bosnian Serb political and military plan to create an ethnically pure Greater Serbia, it constituted the crime of genocide.

Although a preponderance of indicted Bosnian War criminals are of Serb ethnicity, not all Serbs committed war crimes, and not all perpetrators were Serb. Moreover, while perpetrators on all sides were both products of and contributors to the broader genocidal atmosphere, only a few have faced genocide charges. To commit genocide one must possess command responsibility and genocidal intent and/or explicit knowledge of a broader genocidal plan. Perpetrators who coordinated and orchestrated crimes may not have dirty hands, but they are most likely to be charged with genocide. Though the ICTY considered only the strategic coordination of Serb atrocities to constitute genocide, individuals on all sides accused of crimes against humanity often have the bloodiest hands: gratuitous torture, sexual slavery, civilian massacres, *etc.* Still, the region's leaders are most responsible because they fostered a permissive environment for these crimes. First among them was Serbian leader and Yugoslav wartime president, Slobodan Milosevic.

Milosevic used Serbian media to manipulate the past and present. Recalling historical tragedies as evidence of an imminent threat to contemporary Serbs, and blaming the “ethnic other” for the nation's crises, Milosevic ensured a radicalized and fearful population. As Yugoslav president and de facto Serb

leader, Milosevic ordered ethnic cleansing atrocities and funded paramilitary activities throughout the Bosnian War, including the Srebrenica genocide. On June 28, 2001, Serbia's president, Zoran Dindic, handed Milosevic to the ICTY. In 2006, after a three-year trial, Milosevic died in prison, before the ICTY could render judgment.

Milosevic's nationalist paranoia fueled his equally reductionist and dangerous Croatian nationalist counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, an outspoken anti-Semite and champion of radical Croatian nationalism since the 1970s. As competing Serb and Croat nationalisms escalated, the Croatian War ensued (1991–1992). Violence in Croatia's Krajina region culminated in 1995's Operation STORM. In this brutal ethnic cleansing campaign against Krajina's Serbs, Croat forces killed about 300 and deported more than 90,000 Serb civilians while looting and burning homes. Tudjman died of cancer in 1999. Had he lived, the ICTY would have indicted Tudjman as the head of a "criminal enterprise" responsible for Operation STORM and Croat ethnic cleansing crimes throughout the Bosnian War. Though Serbs consider Operation STORM to be genocide, it is unclear whether Tudjman would have faced genocide charges. In 2011, the ICTY found Croatian general Ante Gotovina guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his role in Operation STORM. The highest-ranking Croat suspect to have stood trial, Gotovina was sentenced to 24 years, but a November 2012 ICTY appeals chamber overturned Gotovina's conviction due to an evidentiary error on the part of the prosecution.

In 1992, as ethnic tensions escalated throughout Yugoslavia, so did instability in Bosnia. Facing unyielding Serb nationalism, multiethnic Bosnia's survival in a Serb-dominated "rump Yugoslavia" became increasingly unlikely. On March 1, 1992, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks voted for Bosnian independence under Bosniak president Alija Izetbegovic. (Though the ICTY investigated Izetbegovic on multiple occasions, he was never indicted.) Meanwhile, upon Bosnia's declaration of independence, Bosnian Serbs declared an independent Bosnian Serb Republic (Republika Srpska [RS]) under President Radovan Karadzic. Karadzic, a master of myth and propaganda, adeptly used Serbian media to promote fear, intolerance, and hatred. Captured in July 2008, Karadzic was charged with genocide as part of the criminal enterprise responsible for Srebrenica, and crimes against humanity for the siege of Sarajevo and ethnic cleansing throughout Bosnia. At his ongoing trial Karadzic has maintained his innocence, claiming Serbs acted only in self-defense.

Karadzic's two wartime vice presidents were his political partners in crime: Momcilo Krajisnik and Biljana Plavsic. Known more for cruelty than intellectual prowess, Krajisnik was convicted for crimes against humanity in 2006, but acquitted of genocide. He is currently serving 20 years. Known as "Serbia's Iron Lady," Biljana Plavsic, a geneticist and University of Sarajevo professor, was the first woman president in Bosnia's history. As part of RS's wartime presidency, Plavsic's excessive nationalist statements demonized Bosniaks as inherently dangerous and genetically inferior. Plavsic's preposterous assertions lacked scientific merit, but nonetheless encouraged Serb nationalism and ethnically motivated crimes. After the war, Plavsic again served as RS president, from 1996 to 1998. In 2001, Plavsic surrendered to the ICTY. When Plavsic—charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes—agreed to plead guilty and cooperate in other cases, the ICTY dropped all but one count of crimes against humanity. After serving seven years, she was released on October 27, 2009.

Plavsic was also known for publicly praising the "heroism" of Serbian warlord and ostentatious war profiteer Zeljko Raznatovic ("Arkan"). Arkan's excessive violence against Croats and Bosniaks is as notorious as his reputation in Serbia's organized crime underworld. His paramilitary "Tigers" were among the earliest war criminals. In March 1992, Arkan's Tigers seized the town of Banja Luka. By April, they overtook the town of Bijeljina, cutting off water and electricity and indiscriminately slaughtering Bosniaks. The ICTY indicted Arkan for crimes against humanity and war crimes in 1997. In January 2000, Dobrosav Gavric, a junior police officer tied to Serbia's criminal underworld, assassinated Arkan in a Belgrade hotel lobby.

Another paramilitary warlord, Bosnian Serb intellectual Vojislav Seselj, was also a politician. In 1991, Seselj's Radical Party won seats in Serbia's parliament. Because Seselj openly professed what other Serb nationalists addressed only in euphemism, Milosevic afforded Seselj extensive media coverage. Seselj proclaimed Croats a "barbarian horde" and denounced Bosniaks as "wild pack animals" with a taste for Serbian blood. Further, Seselj often bragged publicly about his paramilitary exploits, even claiming that his "Chetniks" gouged out victims' eyes with rusty spoons. Having perfected ethnic cleansing in Croatia's war, Seselj's Chetniks arrived in Bosnia with an appetite for brutality. Seselj surrendered to the ICTY in 2003. As of this writing, his trial for war crimes and crimes against humanity is still ongoing.

A number of perpetrators have also been charged in association with various detention camps where prisoners were beaten, tortured, starved, raped, humiliated, and sometimes killed. The ICTY has indicted camp organizers, commanders, high-level guards, and even individuals not officially affiliated with the camps, but who visited regularly to torture prisoners (some local police, paramilitary, and a few sadistic civilians). The Prijedor municipality, a site of intense Serb ethnic cleansing campaigns, housed the notorious Omarska, Keraterm, and Trnopolje camps. Some Prijedor wartime politicians were indicted both for camp abuses and broader ethnic cleansing crimes. The ICTY charged Milan Kovacevic and Simo Drljaca with genocide and crimes against humanity. Kovacevic, an anesthesiologist and leader in Prijedor's municipal government, died of natural causes before trial. Drljaca, Prijedor's chief of police, was killed in 1997 while evading arrest. Prijedor's mayor, Milomir Stakic, is serving a 40-year sentence for crimes against humanity. Many others have been found guilty of assorted camp-related crimes.

Known as the "Serb Adolf," Goran Jelasic confessed to more than 200 murders as commander of Luka camp (outside Brcko municipality). Jelasic's girlfriend, Monika Ilic, often joined in beating, torturing, mutilating, sexually abusing, and even burning alive Luka's starved prisoners. Jelasic's brother and Ilic's brother also sometimes participated. The ICTY indicted Jelasic for genocide; however, because Jelasic tortured and killed simply for personal pleasure without knowledge of a genocidal plan, he was acquitted of genocide but sentenced to 40 years for crimes against humanity.

Bosniaks and Croats also committed camp-related abuses. At Celebici camp, Serb detainees were beaten with clubs, rifles, wooden planks, shovels, and cable. Some died from their wounds. The ICTY convicted Celebici's camp commander Zdravko Mucic (Bosnian Croat), Deputy Commander Hazim Delic (Bosniak), and guard Esad Landzo (Bosniak) of crimes against humanity, including torture and murder. In March 2012, Bosnia's war crimes court indicted five Croats for crimes against humanity in connection with Dretelj camp where Serb prisoners, housed in appalling conditions, were robbed, beaten, raped, tortured, humiliated, and sometimes killed.

Further, the ICTY estimates that 80 percent of the 20,000–50,000 women and girls raped in the Bosnian War were imprisoned, enslaved, tortured, and repeatedly raped for up to two years. The particular brutality of Foca's rape camps led the ICTY to rule that systematic rape is a crime against humanity,

second only to genocide. The ICTY has indicted at least 11 for Foca, while the Bosnian war crimes court has so far indicted at least 7.

Of all the war's ethnic cleansing crimes the 1995 Srebrenica Massacre is the sole event the ICTY has ruled clearly constitutes genocide. In addition to politicians (Milosevic and Karadzic), the ICTY has charged high-level military leaders with genocide in connection to Srebrenica. The ICTY's first genocide conviction (2001), General Major Radislav Krstic (RS's Drina Corps commander) was sentenced to 46 years. Though the appeals chamber overturned Krstic's genocide conviction in 2004, the lesser charges were upheld. More importantly, the Krstic case proved the Srebrenica Massacre constituted genocide. RS army commander General Ratko Mladic, the ICTY's most-wanted fugitive before his 2011 capture, is currently on trial. In July 1995, Mladic's troops seized Srebrenica, forcibly deporting as many as 30,000 civilians and massacring over 8,000 Bosniak men and boys. In all, at least 21 people have been indicted for Srebrenica. At least three have pleaded guilty.

Somewhat tangentially related but often affiliated with Srebrenica, Bosniak military commander Naser Oric was accused of crimes against Serbs in Srebrenica's surrounding villages. Oric was arrested in 2003. In 2006, the ICTY determined that although some of Oric's men did commit atrocities against Serb civilians, because ragtag Bosniak forces were poorly armed and haphazardly organized, Oric did not possess the necessary command responsibility to be accountable for his men's crimes. The ICTY found Oric guilty on lesser charges and released him with "time served," much to the dismay of victims' families.

The overall record of the ICTY has brought attention to the most egregious of crimes committed during the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, holding those most responsible to account. Further, the ICTY has assisted the development of the national Bosnian war crimes court, which began hearing cases in 2005. In its first five years, the Bosnian court ruled on 138 cases, with 262 additional cases ongoing and hundreds more indictments pending. The national courts play a large part in bringing perpetrators to justice and creating a thorough historical record of victims and perpetrators on all sides of the Bosnian genocide.

Christina M. Morus

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Bosnian Genocide Victims

In the two decades since the Bosnian War (1992–1995) and ensuing genocide, a postwar battle over memory still rages. The complicated and often politicized process of defining and calculating victims is central to this battle. Politicians on all sides continue to manipulate victim statistics, playing to residually nationalist sentiments in their respective constituencies. Even casualty estimates from impartial international bodies are inconsistent, ranging from 25,000 to 350,000 victims. Further exacerbating the issue, after a 1994 United Nations (UN) Commission of Experts report estimated 200,000 victims in the war's first two years, international journalists often extrapolated as many as 400,000 total victims from these preliminary figures. Meanwhile, in 1995, a U.S. State Department representative estimated 25,000 victims even as Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) estimates suggested 156,500 civilian casualties. Revealing as much about the region's lingering postwar tensions as about the victims themselves, these discrepancies suggest a dense web of questions that should accompany any consideration of Bosnia's genocide victims.

First one must consider what the "Bosnian genocide" encompasses. From the war's inception, Serbian forces targeted Bosniak and Croat civilians for intimidation, imprisonment, torture, deportation, rape, and murder in a broader, coordinated "ethnic cleansing" plan. While this is the very essence of the 1948 UN definition of genocide, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) recognizes only the 1995 Srebrenica Massacre as "genocide." Still, the ICTY has indicted individuals on all sides for ethnic cleansing crimes. Moreover, while the ICTY determined that Bosniak-perpetrated crimes lacked specific coordinated genocidal intent, and that Croat-perpetrated crimes, though part of a coordinated plan, were less organized and

widespread than Serb-perpetrated crimes, civilians on all sides were victims of the broader genocidal atmosphere.

However, even if we accept all ethnic cleansing as genocidal, the “victim” category has been widely contentious and inconsistent. Are “victims” only among the most widely affected group? Since Serb forces were the primary perpetrators, should Serb civilian victims be discounted? (Are perpetrators from targeted groups absolved?) What about “Yugoslav” or “other” ethnic victims (Jews, Roma, other minorities, or those of mixed ethnicity)? Moreover, are “victims” only killed in direct genocidal acts? What about shrapnel or bombing, or indirect casualties of harsh wartime conditions, starvation, cold, or lack of medical services? Further, death is not required for proving “genocidal intent.” Is one a “victim” if displaced, tortured, raped, or imprisoned? Recently, data-collecting institutions have given these questions more consideration. While victim categorization and hence resulting casualty figures still differ, increased efforts to explain and contextualize data have yielded more consistent, broader conclusions (such as percentages of civilian versus military casualties and victim ethnicity).

Sarajevo’s Research and Documentation Center (RDC) strives for accurate, verified data on every war victim. Its 2007 report—the *Bosnian Book of the Dead*—claims 350,000 victims, including direct war deaths and missing persons, as well as survivors of ethnic cleansing atrocities such as torture, rape, deportation, and concentration camps (not including indirect war deaths). The RDC anticipates eventually verifying 130,000–150,000 total dead and missing (40 percent civilians; 60 percent military/police). ICTY estimates are slightly more conservative, citing 102,622 direct deaths: 55,261 civilians (38,000 of which were Bosniak or Bosnian Croat [ICTY data do not separate Croat and Bosniak civilian victims] and 16,700 Bosnian Serb civilians), as well as 47,360 soldiers (28,000 Bosniak military; 6,000 Bosnian Croat soldiers; 14,000 Bosnian Serb soldiers). Even with differing casualty numbers, both the RDC and ICTY conclude that although people of all ethnicities committed and suffered atrocities, there was not equivalency among belligerents. Prewar Bosnia was about 43 percent Bosniak, 31 percent Bosnian Serb, and 17 percent Bosnian Croat. Among direct-war deaths, the RDC found 66 percent Bosniak, 25 percent Serb, 8 percent Croat, and 1 percent “other.” Among civilian victims the disparity is even starker: 83 percent Bosniak, 10 percent Bosnian Serb, 5 percent Bosnian Croat, and 2 percent “other.”

The ICTY and RDC have also attempted to identify and correct inaccuracies skewing previous casualty data, such as early overestimates of missing persons. Initially, over 35,000 people were reported missing. Some were later found alive. Others were counted twice, as missing and dead, or (particularly among Bosniaks) listed as both civilian and military casualties. The International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) now confirm 10,000–15,000 missing persons. Still, while precise casualty figures are important, statistics take on greater meaning when viewed in conjunction with the modes of victimization characteristic to particular notorious atrocities.

In spring 1992, Serb paramilitary forces began ethnically cleansing non-Serbs (mainly Bosniaks) from eastern Bosnia's Podrinje region. With the mass destruction of homes, cemeteries, mosques, and cultural monuments, and the rape, torture, deportation, and slaughter of civilians, Podrinje's 29,752 casualties amounted to nearly 45 percent of civilian war deaths. The Srebrenica genocide was Podrinje's ethnic cleansing zenith. In July 1995, the Bosnian Serb army and Serbian paramilitary slaughtered nearly 8,000 Bosniak men and boys and deported more than 35,000 women and children. The UN forces deployed to protect the town did nothing to stop the biggest mass murder of civilians since World War II.

As Serb forces carried out ethnic cleansing throughout Bosnia, thousands of non-Serbs were imprisoned in concentration camps, several of which are notorious for their appallingly inhumane conditions. According to the ICRC and ICTY, the Manjaca camp's 3,737 detainees were stuffed into crowded cells without ventilation, toilets, water, or room to sleep. Prisoners were starved, subjected to forced labor, regularly tortured, and often forced to torture one another. Most detainees lost at least 50 pounds within the first month. Similarly, the Omarska camp held 3,334 prisoners (95 percent Bosniaks; 4 percent Bosnian Croats). Twenty-eight prisoners were under 18 years old, and 68 were over 60). The prisoners were packed into tiny rooms in sweltering heat, and the walls and floors were covered in blood and excrement. Each night, screams from prisoners selected for "interrogation" echoed throughout the camp. Female prisoners scrubbed blood, skin, and hair from interrogation rooms each morning. Fed less than once daily, prisoners were forced to finish the typically rotten or contaminated food in three minutes under beatings with fists, rifle butts, wooden bats, and metal sticks. Their only water was polluted with waste.

Keraterm camp guards also constantly humiliated and abused detainees (85 percent Bosniak; 15 percent Bosnian Croat), daily meting out severe indiscriminate beatings with wooden batons, metal rods, electrical cable (often with metal spikes), rifle butts, and knives. Nightly, drunken Serb paramilitary tortured prisoners for entertainment, forcing detainees to rape, sodomize, and sexually mutilate one another. By comparison, the Trnopolje camp had considerably more favorable conditions. Many women and children were among the several thousand detainees in Trnopolje, where cells were less crowded and prisoners were consistently fed (though barely subsistence rations). Still, torture and sexual violence were common and people often disappeared after interrogation. In all, hundreds were killed or disappeared at these camps. Some suffocated, others died of wounds or of disease, and others simply vanished.

Strategic war rape was another common mechanism of genocidal victimization in the Bosnian War. While men composed nearly 75 percent of war casualties, both men and women suffered sexual violence. The ICTY estimates that 80 percent of the 20,000 to 50,000 women and girls raped in the Bosnian War (mostly Bosniaks) were held in dedicated rape camps for as long as two years. Held captive in schools, hospitals, homes, and barns, women and girls aged six to 70 were gang-raped repeatedly, sometimes with guns or objects. Brothers or fathers were sometimes forced to watch or even participate. Many women and girls were impregnated and held until termination was impossible. At their captors' whims, women were bought, sold, traded, or given as rewards. Enforced domestic labor added to the humiliation. Survivor testimonies reveal an innumerable range of physical, emotional, and social scars.

In another egregious tragedy, the nearly four-year Serb siege of Sarajevo trapped about 400,000 people without food, medicine, water, heat, electricity, or outside contact. Less than a decade after hosting the 1984 Winter Olympics, Sarajevo's citizens risked daily sporadic mortar attacks and indiscriminate sniper fire to search for life-sustaining supplies. The longest siege in modern history resulted in 18,888 deaths, 15.36 percent of Bosnia's war casualties (24 percent military and 76 percent civilian, 20 percent of which were Bosnian Serb). Countless others—hundreds, perhaps even thousands—died of starvation, cold, and lack of medical care. Many of Sarajevo's victims were children. In fact, while adult males compose the majority of the war's casualties, 3,372 victims were under the age of 18 (41 percent from Podrinje [441 in the 1995 Srebrenica genocide]; 19 percent from Sarajevo; 13.70 percent listed as soldiers at time of death). On May 25, 1995, Serb forces attacked the city of Tuzla, killing 71

youths and wounding more than 200 in the war's largest children's massacre. Another facet of child victimization involves children born of war rape, though a lack of data makes this a difficult problem to assess.

Although Serb forces committed the lion's share of war atrocities, some Croat and Bosniak forces engaged in the same ethnic cleansing strategies. In 1993, Croatian forces destroyed Bosniak homes, mosques, and cultural monuments, raping and murdering Bosniak civilians in the Ahmici and Stupni Do massacres (both small towns with vibrant multiethnic prewar populations). In the Celebici concentration camp, Bosniak and Croat guards forced Serb prisoners to defecate on the floor of their crowded cells. Detainees were regularly starved, beaten, tortured, and raped. Further, Bosniak forces also carried out brutal ethnic cleansing campaigns, most infamously against Croat civilians in Mostar and against Serbs in Podrinje under Naser Oric.

In all, the Bosnian War left millions traumatized. The ICTY estimates as many 50 percent of Bosniak and Croat homes and 25 percent of Serb homes were damaged or destroyed. Additionally, more than half of the 2.2 million displaced civilians have not returned. Some integrated into other communities; others left the country for good, while others remain in refugee settlements even two decades after the war. The Bosnian government hopes more aggressive recent efforts to ensure stability will encourage at least 100,000 more returnees. Still, the IRC estimates at least 10 percent (likely more) of Bosnians suffer from severe post-traumatic emotional and stress-related disorders. Hence, even as Bosnia's casualty data demonstrate increased consistency and reliability, for many people the victimization continues.

Christina M. Morus

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Bosnian Genocide Bystanders

Given the sheer number of international witnesses to the Bosnian War, bystanders could have prevented, or at least mitigated, genocidal atrocities. Instead, the international community (IC) exacerbated the situation. The umbrella term “international community” needs to be explained in order to understand the IC’s role as bystander to genocide in Bosnia. The entities comprising the IC in relation to the Bosnian War might include: international journalists and the mass media outlets that employ them; international humanitarian aid organizations; the European Community (EC) as well as its individual constituent nations, their politicians and constituencies; the United States (U.S.); the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the United Nations (UN), including the Security Council, the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the UN’s Peacekeeping Force in Bosnia, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). All of these IC players were, to varying extents, bystanders, complicit in some of war’s worst atrocities.

In March 1992, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence from the Yugoslav Federation. As Yugoslavia’s president, Slobodan Milosevic immediately ordered the Yugoslavia People’s Army (JNA) to prevent Bosnia’s secession. Once the IC officially recognized Bosnia’s independent statehood, the JNA ostensibly withdrew, leaving behind weapons, artillery, and supplies. Bosnian Serb JNA soldiers became the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) under General Ratko Mladic, a formidable force with an inexhaustible supply of JNA weapons and Serbian support. Meanwhile, after honing its military prowess in the previous year’s Croatian War, Croatia’s president Franjo Tudjman responded in kind with financial and tactical help for Bosnian Croat forces (HVO). Only the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ARBiH) (mostly Bosniaks and some others

fighting for multiethnic Bosnia) had no parent state to back them. With few trained soldiers, no heavy artillery, and only the weapons they could collect among them, the ARBiH were ill-prepared for war. As such, the regional UN arms embargo disproportionately affected the poorly trained and hastily organized ARBiH, leaving them largely defenseless.

In May 1992, the UN imposed economic sanctions on Milosevic and “rump Yugoslavia,” but largely, the UN and the United States let the EC take the lead in its “own backyard.” Yet, the EC’s risk-averse political leadership, a cumbersome bureaucratic process, and failure to properly assess the gravity and complexity of the situation on the ground worked in conjunction to prevent the EC from taking any effective measures to stem the violence. Throughout the summer of 1992, as international journalists began detailing the gruesome evidence of ethnic cleansing, the UN resolved to take a stronger role in Bosnia. In August 1992, the UN condemned ethnic cleansing and vowed to investigate and punish human rights abuses by all parties. In September, in response to intensifying humanitarian crises, the Security Council dispatched UNPROFOR, first to Sarajevo and then to beleaguered communities throughout Bosnia. UNPROFOR’s initial mandate was solely humanitarian, as the EC and UN were still opposed to taking sides. Their main purpose was to guard humanitarian convoys and distribute aid.

In January 1993, leaders of the three warring ethnic groups met to discuss the British-brokered Vance-Owen peace plan, which proposed dividing Bosnia: 43 percent to Serbs, 25 percent to Croats, and 22 percent to Bosniaks. By February 1993, Vance-Owen negotiations had failed. By early spring, the humanitarian situation was dire. Serb ethnic cleansing atrocities had driven millions from their homes. Refugees were freezing, starving, terrified, and desperate. Aid convoys were regularly ambushed. After a March 1993 visit to Srebrenica, Bosnia’s UNPROFOR commander, UN lieutenant-general Philippe Morillon, promised protection for the town’s nearly 60,000 Bosniak civilians. Over the next two months, the UN Security Council passed resolutions to enforce a “no-fly zone” over Bosnia, establish six demilitarized “safe areas” throughout Bosnia, and guarantee UN protection for civilians.

Security Council resolutions 819 and 824 declared six besieged, largely Bosniak towns (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac, and Srebrenica) as UN-protected safe areas. Russia, the United States, Britain, France, and Spain each committed troops. In June 1993, resolution 836 provided a clear mandate for defending the safe areas, permitting UNPROFOR to use force and promising

NATO airstrikes against attacking forces. Still, it was unclear whether this applied only to assaults on UNPROFOR troops or to aggressions against civilians as well. UNPROFOR command tended toward the former, more narrow, interpretation of the mandate in authorizing the use of force to protect the safe areas.

Even from their inception, the safe areas were never appropriately set up to succeed. Rather than the estimated 35,000 ground troops that UNPROFOR commanders had requested, UN secretary general Boutros-Ghali authorized just 7,500 to defend the safe areas. Only 1,200 had arrived by August 1993. Additional troops were slowly deployed, but not enough to fully implement the safe area strategy. None of the safe areas were adequately protected. In reality, all of the safe areas were overcrowded, unruly, and underprotected, and periodic attacks continued. In fact, journalists claimed that some safe areas, such as Gorazde and Zepa, received no UN protection at all. Moreover, the threat of NATO air strikes did little to prevent Serb assaults, in part because a pattern of idle UN threats was already well established. Further, the process of approving air strikes was cumbersome and time consuming, requiring both UNPROFOR and NATO approval for each run. UNPROFOR was more often deterred from using NATO air support than Serb forces were deterred from attacking safe areas.

Meanwhile, in May 1993, Security Council resolution 827 established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to hold accountable those most responsible for crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the Geneva Convention. The ICTY further aimed to deter new atrocities, a goal that wholly failed considering the time frame for some of the most horrific events.

In Sarajevo, Serb forces cut off water, electricity, and contact with the outside world for nearly four years. A particularly gruesome attack in May 1992 killed 16 civilians queuing for bread, but the VRS adamantly denied responsibility. Even after UNPROFOR deployment and the declaration of Sarajevo as a safe area, sporadic bombing and indiscriminate sniper fire were daily realities. Finally, when a February 1994 attack on Sarajevo's open-air market killed 68 people, the IC took a more proactive role with targeted (if severely limited) NATO air strikes on Serb positions.

In March 1994, the United States mediated an HVO and ARBiH alliance against the VRS. Now with NATO air strikes, a stronger UNPROFOR presence, and an HVO-ARBiH coalition, everything pointed to the beginning of the end.

Still, the war's final year saw some of the worst atrocities. Neither the UN nor NATO acted to defend the safe areas. Towns throughout Bosnia changed hands (most for a second or third time), the siege of Sarajevo intensified, and safe area Gorazde was frequently attacked. The ARBiH eventually drove Serb forces from safe area Bihac, but not without substantial loss of life. Then, in July 1995, Mladic's troops overran safe area Srebrenica, and UNPROFOR became a bystander to another 20th-century genocide in Europe.

In March 1994 UNPROFOR dispatched 600 Royal Dutch Army soldiers (Dutchbat) to safe area Srebrenica, where as many as 60,000 Bosniak refugees had expanded the prewar population tenfold. By winter 1995, Serb forces had cut off Srebrenica from the world, preventing even UN access to the supply road. Humanitarian convoys stopped. Living conditions deteriorated considerably. Fuel and medical supplies waned. People died of starvation and cold. In May 1995, Dutchbat alerted UNPROFOR command of Srebrenica's dire conditions and the increasing Serb military buildup. UNPROFOR declined both humanitarian and military support. Amid Srebrenica's angry, terrified, and ever more desperate population, many Dutchbat soldiers felt UNPROFOR had abandoned them.

On July 7, 1995, General Mladic led his troops into Srebrenica. After the UN denied multiple requests for air support, Dutchbat commander Lieutenant Colonel Thom Karremans negotiated with Mladic. On July 10, they reached an agreement: the Serbs would deport Bosniak civilians and the UN would pay for the buses and gasoline. Realizing Dutchbat would not protect them, 15,000 Bosniak men fled through the mountains. Their trek, more than 100 kilometers, is known as the "Marathon of Death." Through that night and the next day, Dutchbat soldiers assisted Bosnian Serb troops, separating the men, maintaining calm, and loading the buses. The women were taken to Bosniak territory to wait in vain for their men. From July 12 to July 17, Bosnian Serb soldiers and Serbian paramilitary forces slaughtered 8,000–10,000 Bosniak men and boys. For two weeks, Serb forces hunted and killed those on the Marathon of Death. Some hid in the forest for months. The last survivors emerged in May 1996—six months after the war's end.

The Srebrenica Massacre is a prime example of the IC's aggravating role in Bosnia's genocide. The disastrous implications of the UN's decisions and the broader IC's (in)actions were not unavoidable. In 1992, a UN headquarters was already in place in Sarajevo to direct peacekeeping in Croatia. However, when the Bosnian War began, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali declined peacekeeping

in Bosnia and UNPROFOR evaporated. Boutros-Ghali was clearly influenced by Milosevic's rhetoric of civil war with which Serbia had no part and the IC had no business. Additionally, although UNPROFOR was eventually redeployed, its initial mandate was largely observational and humanitarian. Even with a strengthened mandate, UNPROFOR command did not permit UNPROFOR troops to engage unless explicitly provoked. This meant that UNPROFOR were often bystanders to the worst atrocities.

Moreover, throughout most of the war, Western media misunderstood and misrepresented the conflict. At the same time, IC leaders who could have intervened were often more beholden to their own political agendas, national interests, and voting constituencies than to their obligation to stop genocide. Moreover, leaders often misconstrued the situation and region and, taking Milosevic's rhetoric at face value, perceived the warring factions as equal, primitive, and irrationally violent. Thus, the IC often tried to remain neutral to a fault, and failed to lift the arms embargo.

Even humanitarian efforts were plagued by error and incompetence. Although aid convoys offered some relief, lack of regional knowledge resulted in unfortunate consequences. Serb forces easily hijacked aid convoys, "taxed" aid transports as much as 50 percent, and confiscated weapons from the lightly armed UNPROFOR escorts. Further, air-dropped aid pallets often fell miles from their targets, forcing civilians to risk rough terrain, landmines, and snipers to retrieve life-sustaining supplies. Several civilians were crushed when miscalculated aid drops fell on them.

Overall, throughout the conflict the IC stood by impotently, offering ineffectual diplomatic solutions and weak military assistance. From the arms embargo to botched peacekeeping and bungled attempts to broker peace, the IC vacillated from bystander to peace obstacle. In September 1995, NATO airstrikes finally disabled Serb forces, and in December 1995 the U.S.-brokered Dayton Peace Agreement finally ended the Bosnian War. Today, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a single state divided into two nations: the Bosniak-Croat Federation with 51 percent (including Sarajevo) and Republika Srpska with 49 percent. A divided Bosnia remains, as does an indelible stain on the international community's collective conscience.

Christina M. Morus

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Bosnian Genocide International Reaction

The complex and sometimes uncertain political atmosphere of the post–Cold War moment (in Yugoslavia and globally) shaped broader international reactions to the Bosnian War (1992–1995) and ensuing genocide. Overall, the international community (IC) failed to grasp the true nature of the conflict and largely underestimated the scope and magnitude of genocidal atrocities. The slow and sloppy international response did little to mitigate the conflict and often exacerbated human suffering. Throughout ex-Yugoslavia and globally, many aspects of this conflict are still hotly contested, but one area of nearly universal agreement is that the IC aggravated the already complicated tripartite Bosnian War.

To understand the international reaction to Bosnia one must recognize that the IC is neither concrete nor monolithic. Instead, it is an abstract aggregate of entities, each with its own interests, constituencies, and political agendas, some with greater power and influence than others. The extent to which a crisis situation affects each entity's interests ultimately impacts both the IC's composition in relation to that crisis, and the major and minor active roles each relevant constituent entity will play. In relation to Bosnia, the IC's major constituent entities include: international journalists and their mass media outlets; international humanitarian aid organizations; the United States (U.S.) and European Community (EC) (including individual constituent states, politicians, and voting publics); the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); and United Nations (UN) (including the Security Council [UNSC], the High

Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], and the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia [UNPROFOR]).

With a March 1992 referendum, Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Without delay, Yugoslavia's president, Slobodan Milosevic, ordered the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to surround Sarajevo. At the same time, Serbian paramilitary thugs began brutal ethnic cleansing campaigns against Bosnia's non-Serb populations. Against this backdrop, a smattering of international journalists turned attention to Bosnia. Not only did they report on the war itself, they also exposed the ethnic cleansing's human toll, detailing an intensifying range of atrocities against non-Serb civilians. As *Newsweek's* Roy Gutman has noted, to those few journalists present, the situation in Bosnia seemed like the most important thing happening in the world at the time. The respective media outlets for which they worked did not agree. From March through July 1992, even as evidence of an emerging genocide mounted, the situation in Bosnia received little media attention. As such, Bosnia was not at the forefront of international public consciousness (especially not in the United States), and hence was not a political priority for Western leaders.

In July 1992, Roy Gutman exposed the Manjaca and Omarska concentration camps. While initial reports of ethnic atrocities did not raise the appropriate international alarm, Gutman's story and accompanying images captured public attention. Featuring emaciated men peering out from barbed wire, these photographs sharply reference iconic Holocaust images, resonating with Western publics in a way that words alone had failed. Although such a direct parallel is inaccurate, disingenuous, and even emotionally manipulative, it was effective (both in rallying public demand for intervention and to sell newspapers). American media outlets largely shied away from Gutman's previous, more nuanced reports on this complicated conflict, and as such, Bosnia had failed to garner public interest. Gutman's now infamous concentration camp exposé at last evoked an international response to the crisis in Bosnia, even if that response was ultimately weak and ineffectual.

But where was the European Community while all of this was happening in its own backyard? While the UN has been the target of substantial public criticism for mishandling international intervention in Bosnia, the UN is not alone in its culpability. Eager to take on the majority of the responsibility for European affairs and anxious to establish its legitimacy, the young EC took the lead in Bosnia early on. The United States and UN were happy to stand aside.

The EC's first foreign policy challenge, the Bosnian crisis tested the EC's resolve and efficacy. From the very outset, the EC's first mistake was classifying the Bosnian conflict as a "civil war" among three equal parties, and misinterpreting the nature and severity of the conflict. EC leaders were further quick to accept Serbian and Croatian nationalist characterizations of intractable and timeless ethnic hatreds as the impetus for the violence. As such, the EC failed to treat the Bosnian War as international conflict, and failed to account for the very modern political greed from which contemporary animosities sprang.

Further, the young EC's clear growing pains led to constant internal squabbling, slowing an already plodding decision-making process to a grinding halt. Constituent EC nations struggled to agree on even the smallest issues, in part because each constituent nation was far more committed to its individual national interests than to broader regional stability. Moreover, the EC exhibited a kind of tunnel vision with regard to diplomacy. Even when it was clear that Serbian leaders had no intention of negotiating, the EC refused to acknowledge that diplomacy had failed. To maintain this delusion, the EC continued to characterize the conflict as a civil war among three equal parties, and consistently lobbied against lifting the UN arms embargo, which would have allowed the poorly armed and largely defenseless Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ARBiH) (mostly Bosniaks and some others fighting for multiethnic Bosnia) to mount a defense. In essence, the EC's protracted and plodding bureaucracy afforded weak diplomatic solutions that were then unenforceable. Moreover, in stubbornly maintaining positions on the use of force and the arms embargo, EC nations also inhibited effective UN solutions.

Although the United States plays a significant role in both the UN and NATO, because the EC took on the primary responsibility for Bosnia, the United States as a nation (separate from the UN and NATO) did little to mitigate the conflict and end the genocide. Essentially, both President George H. W. Bush (at the end of his term) and President Bill Clinton (initially) were content to publicly ignore the situation in Bosnia as long as possible. However, the United States is a powerful international player (perhaps the most powerful), with substantial influence on NATO, the UN, and broader international politics. Hence, in some ways, the United States' initial willfully ignorant stance on Bosnia was a kind of tacit complicity in the genocidal atrocities taking place there.

Further, the crisis in Bosnia did not spring wholly formed from the March 1992 referendum and ensuing declaration of independence. So long as Yugoslavia was an important Cold War pawn, the United States was very much

involved there. Throughout the mid-to late-1980s, as the Soviet Union waned, Yugoslavia lost its strategic importance, and the United States lost interest. The polarizing nationalist discourses underscoring Yugoslavia's demise found a foothold in the post-Cold War economic crisis and ensuing political instability. This, in and of itself, should have obligated U.S. intervention to halt the conflict, particularly when genocidal atrocities became clear. Still, even while the U.S. government worked closely to maintain a strong Yugoslavia throughout the Cold War, American people in general knew little about Yugoslavia and even less about Bosnia. U.S. international political decisions are influenced by public demand. In essence, until there was enough American public interest in Bosnia, the United States was satisfied to let the EC take the lead, even when it was clear that EC inaction was only deepening the crisis.

Once the UN decided to put UNPROFOR in place, the United States both contributed limited ground troops, substantial air-support resources, and massive amounts of humanitarian aid, as well as a substantial portion of the coordination efforts and manpower to deliver that aid. Yet, even as President Bill Clinton publicly wanted to appear committed to stemming Bosnia's humanitarian crisis and halting the conflict, in the face of feeble and repeatedly failing international diplomacy and intervention efforts, the United States did little to distinguish itself and its response to genocidal atrocities in Bosnia from those of the EC and the UN. Still, the United States did accept a substantial number of Bosnian refugees during the war (unlike some EC nations). Further, it was the U.S.-brokered Dayton Peace Accords that finally ended the war in December 1995. Moreover, when it became clear that UNPROFOR soldiers had failed to prevent genocide in Srebrenica and President Clinton was "fed up" with standing by, the United States took the lead in limited NATO strategic air strikes on Serb positions, finally forcing all parties to the negotiating table.

The United Nations was the primary manifestation of the international reaction to Bosnia. While each of the IC's major constituents in the Bosnian War certainly played a role in the overall lack of effective intervention, and each certainly impacted UN intervention decisions, the UN bears substantial culpability, particularly for failing to intervene to halt genocidal atrocities in the region.

After the concentration camps were revealed in July 1992, the UN resolved to take a stronger role in Bosnia. In August 1992, the UN condemned ethnic cleansing, vowing to investigate and punish human rights abuses by all parties. In September 1992, UNPROFOR troops arrived, but their mandate was solely

observational and humanitarian. By early spring 1993, Serb ethnic cleansing atrocities had driven millions from their homes. Refugees were freezing, starving, terrified, and desperate. Aid convoys were regularly ambushed. In response to the relentless humanitarian crisis, the UNSC established six demilitarized “safe areas” throughout Bosnia where civilians’ safety was guaranteed. Yet, the mandate for defending the safe areas was weak and unclear, and the lightly armed UNPROFOR did not have nearly enough troops to protect the refugees therein. As a result, the safe areas became “gathering points” that, in the end, facilitated ethnic cleansing rather than mitigated human suffering. Then, of course, there is Srebrenica—the Bosnian War’s sole event that the UN has officially labeled genocide. As much as Srebrenica is the zenith of Serbian ethnic cleansing strategies and the Serb leadership responsible for the atrocities therein, the Dutchbat UNPROFOR troops and broader UN command share liability. While Srebrenica is the exemplar of the UN’s failings in Bosnia, in many smaller ways, UNPROFOR were often bystanders to the worst atrocities.

Meanwhile, in May 1993, the UNSC established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to hold accountable those most responsible for crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the Geneva Convention. The ICTY further aimed to deter new atrocities, a goal that wholly failed considering the time frame for some of the most horrific events. Further, as the ICTY nears the completion of its mandate, it is increasingly clear that its actual successes have been mixed at best. While perhaps contributing substantively to the future of international criminal justice, the ICTY has had very little substantive positive impact on people in ex-Yugoslavia (another thing about which most of the region’s still divided peoples can agree).

Overall, throughout the conflict the IC stood by impotently, offering ineffectual diplomatic solutions and weak military assistance, and exacerbating human suffering with one error after another. Further, despite the early and careful efforts of the first few international journalists in Bosnia, throughout most of the war, many journalists misrepresented the conflict. At the same time, international leaders in a position to act were often more beholden to their own national interests than to their obligation to stop genocide.

Christina M. Morus

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A

Abdic, Fikret

Fikret Abdic is a Bosniak rebel leader sentenced to 20 years in jail by a court in the Croatian town of Karlovac for war crimes committed against his fellow Bosniaks between 1993 and 1995. During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995 Abdic declared his opposition to the Bosnian government, allied himself with the Serb-dominated Army of Republika Srpska (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, or VRS), and founded the small, short-lived, and unrecognized Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia in the country's northwest, composed of his home region of Velika Kladusa and a few nearby villages.

Abdic was born on September 29, 1939, in Donja Vidovska, in Velika Kladusa. He made a name for himself in the 1970s and 1980s by turning an agricultural cooperative, Agrokomerc, into a modern food combine employing over 13,000 workers. The firm transformed the entire region, which only 20 years before was deeply impoverished with only 50 meters of asphalt road, one television set kept under lock and key in the community center, and diseases running rampant through the area. Agrokomerc paved the streets, brought electricity and a constant water supply into the region, and encouraged new, modern farms and factories. For his efforts to improve the region, local residents of Velika Kladusa called him “Babo” (Daddy).

In late 1987, Agrokomerc was exposed as having been involved in questionable banking deals, allegedly issuing in excess of 1 billion dinars in fraudulent promissory notes. The problem became more acute, ultimately triggering a 250 percent inflation rate across Yugoslavia. The candidacy of Bosnian politician Hamdija Pozderac for Yugoslav president was affected by the crisis, and Abdic found himself imprisoned for massive financial impropriety.

After his release in 1990, he joined the Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije*, or SDA), a Bosniak national political party founded in May 1990 by Alija Izetbegovic. Abdic sought the nomination for the presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina and acquired the majority of votes, but political backroom deals saw Izetbegovic ultimately take the position. In 1992, after Bosnia had declared independence and armed conflict broke out, Abdic again

sought the presidency, but he was overlooked after Izetbegovic nominated Ejup Ganic in his stead.

After this second rebuff, Abdic decided to return to his home region, embracing Velika Kladusa, Cazin, Bosanska Krupa, and Bihac. Overall, the area became known as “the Bihac pocket” or, more formally, the Cazin Krajina.

On September 14, 1993, at the height of the Balkan conflicts then accompanying the destruction of Yugoslavia, he pulled off an amazing political turnaround by reaching an agreement with the leader of the Bosnian Croats, Mate Boban. Then, on October 22, 1993, he repeated the coup in a similar agreement with Serbia’s Slobodan Milosevic and the leader of Bosnia’s Serbs, Radovan Karadzic. These agreements enabled him to form an “Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia,” a move the Serbs and Croats were delighted to accommodate as it weakened Bosnian central authority over an important part of the Bosnian heartland. He justified his action on the ground that autonomy would “save the Muslim nation” through the appeasement of all the warring parties surrounding Bosnia. Abdic’s deals with Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and the United Nations to keep the “Bihac pocket” free of conflict and relatively well supplied, were aided by the traditionally good relations between Muslims and Serbs in the predominantly Muslim area. Abdic’s view was that he had to stop the war at any cost. Although a Muslim, he did not wish to fight Serbs or go to war. In May 1995 his autonomous region developed into what he considered to be a sovereign republic.

The stance he took inevitably aroused intense anger in Sarajevo. Abdic was viewed as a traitor who was prepared to sell out the central government of Bosnia for his own political purposes. The ensuing rancor led to a war within the war, this time among Bosniaks. This conflict took at least 2,000 lives, and saw the establishment in Western Bosnia of collection centers and camps where people loyal to the central government were harassed and killed for expressing opposition to Abdic. He also raised an army that was supplied, trained, financed by (and that fought alongside of), the Army of Republika Srpska against the Bosnian regular forces.

In August 1995, a Bosnian Army offensive ended the Republic of Western Bosnia, forcing Abdic and some 27,000 of his supporters to flee to Croatia. About 15,000 returned in 1996, and another 10,000 resettled in other countries. Most of the remaining 2,000 returned in late 1997.

While Abdic was granted political asylum and Croatian citizenship by Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina

charged him with the deaths of 121 civilians, 3 prisoners of war, and the wounding of 400 civilians in the Bihac region. At first, Croatia refused to extradite him, but after the death of Tudjman in 1999 and a change in government in Croatia in 2000, Croatian authorities had a change of heart and arrested Abdic. He was put on trial, and in late July 2002 was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for war crimes. Not only did the court rule that Abdic was responsible for the deaths referred to in the original charges, he was also convicted for setting up the autonomous region of Western Bosnia in defiance of the central government in Sarajevo. Throughout this time the Bosnian government had repeatedly pressed for extradition so that Abdic could be tried before a Bosnian court, but the request was refused on account of his Croatian citizenship. In a marked instance of legal cooperation between the two countries, Bosnia acquiesced and the case was tried before a Croatian court. The trial received the approval of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, in The Hague.

On October 5, 2002, while in prison, Abdic ran for the position of Bosnian president as a member of that country's Democratic People's Community (*Demokratska Narodna Zajednica*) party. He was able to do so by a strange ruling in Bosnian law that held him eligible owing to his conviction taking place in Croatia rather than Bosnia. He won 4.1 percent of the vote, better than the party itself at the same time in parliamentary elections (1.4 percent of the popular vote and 1 out of 42 seats in the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 3 out of 140 seats in the House of Representatives of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina overall).

In 2005 the Croatian Supreme Court reduced Abdic's sentence to 15 years. During 2011, however, discussions took place concerning a possible early release. For his part, Abdic has expressed the wish to possibly return to his old position at Agrokomerc in order to help rebuild the region. Abdic was released from prison in 2012, after serving 10 years.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Boban, Mate; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Izetbegovic, Alija; Milosevic, Slobodan; Mladic, Ratko

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Ahtisaari, Martti

Martti Ahtisaari is arguably the best-known Finnish statesman of the modern era, having served as a leading diplomat and resident of Finland, UN special envoy, and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. He was born in Viipuri, Finland (now Vyborg, Russia), on June 23, 1937, and graduated from the University of Oulu in 1959, qualifying as a primary schoolteacher. He developed an interest in foreign affairs after spending time in Pakistan between 1960 and 1963, training teachers and directing the YMCA's physical education training program. In 1965 he joined Finland's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, holding a variety of posts between then and 1973.

In 1973 he was appointed Finnish ambassador to Tanzania, where he stayed until 1976. From there, he joined the United Nations (UN), and during the 1970s and 1980s undertook a number of missions related to Namibia in advance of its independence (1990). From 1984 to 1986 he remained under-secretary of state for international development cooperation in the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was state secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs between 1991 and 1993.

From 1992 to 1993, during the Bosnian War, he was chairman of the UN's Bosnia-Herzegovina Working Group of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. In 1993 he served as special adviser to the same body, and became the special representative of the secretary-general (SRSG) for the Former Yugoslavia.

While engaged in these various international activities, Ahtisaari also nurtured his political ambitions within Finland and, after a distinguished career with the United Nations and the Finnish Foreign Ministry, he accepted the nomination for president of Finland's Social Democratic Party in 1993. He was an attractive candidate owing to an unblemished political record and a vision of

Finland as an active participant in international affairs. He was elected president of the Republic of Finland in February 1994.

In 1999, as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) war with Serbia over that country's continued human rights abuses and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo neared its end, Ahtisaari was drafted by the European Union (EU) to serve as the broker of a possible peace settlement, along with Russia's Viktor Chernomyrdin and Strobe Talbott from the United States. His negotiations with Chernomyrdin and Serb president Slobodan Milosevic eventually led to an end to the fighting, paving the way for Kosovo's occupation by NATO forces.

He held the position of Finnish president until February 28, 2000, but did not seek re-election. Too many problems within his own party and in the parliament—none more troubling than the resistance he received over his vigorous foreign policy initiatives—sapped his enthusiasm for domestic politics. Leaving the presidency, however, opened up new avenues that enabled him to continue the work he had already started in the international sphere.

In November 2005, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan appointed Ahtisaari as SRSG to the Kosovo future status process, which was established to determine whether Kosovo, having been administered by the United Nations since 1999, should become independent or remain a province of Serbia. This role came to an end in July 2007, when the EU, Russia, and the United States agreed to chart a different path toward a lasting solution. Although there was some uncertainty over how it might work, Kosovo made a unilateral declaration of independence from Serbia in February 2008, a status which—despite much uncertainty at first—still holds today.

One of the first things Ahtisaari did upon leaving the presidency in 2000 was to establish Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), a nongovernmental, nonprofit organization that works to resolve conflict and to build sustainable peace. Its headquarters is located in Helsinki. As an organization it seeks to achieve and bring efficiency, quality, and impact into mediation, conflict resolution, and peace processes, and to design processes that build on local context by involving all, seeking to empower especially those stakeholders who might be underrepresented. It is, in effect, a body that aims to continue Ahtisaari's legacy by helping the international community to do better when it comes to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and postconflict state building.

Between 2000 and 2008 Ahtisaari undertook a number of different activities related to peace mediation and conflict resolution. From 2000 to 2001, as part of the Northern Ireland peace process, he served as an inspector of the Irish

Republican Army's weapons caches for the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning. In this role he worked with a South African lawyer and human rights activist, Cyril Ramaphosa.

Then, in 2005, Ahtisaari's skills were required in Indonesia, where he facilitated peace negotiations between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government, after the two had fought a three-decade-long conflict over the status of the northern Sumatran province. Through his organization CMI, the negotiations ended on August 15, 2005, with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding that would lead to the disarmament of the GAM rebels, the dropping of GAM demands for an independent Aceh, and a withdrawal of Indonesian forces from the province. Other activities included a period chairing an independent panel on the security and safety of UN personnel in Iraq in 2003 and serving as UN special envoy for the Horn of Africa from 2003 to 2005.

In December 2008, Ahtisaari was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize "for his efforts on several continents and over more than three decades, to resolve international conflicts." It was a recognition of Ahtisaari's standout role in resolving conflicts in Namibia, Indonesia, Kosovo, and Iraq, as well as his many other peace-building efforts.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Milosevic, Slobodan

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Albania

The Republic of Albania (capital Tirana, which has a greater municipal population of 600,000) is situated south of Montenegro, west of Serbia and Macedonia, north of Greece, and east of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. It is three-quarters mountainous. Its present population of just under 3 million is made up of 91 percent Albanians, 7 percent Greeks, and 2 percent Vlachs, Macedonians, Serbs, Roma, Bulgarians, and Montenegrins. After World War II, Albania had the highest population growth rate in Europe until 1990; since then the rate has fallen slightly. The Albanian language is spoken in two dialect forms: Geg to the north of the Shkumbin River and Tosk to the south. Geg is also the language of Kosovar Albanians in Serbia.

In 1967, Albania was proclaimed the world's first atheist state. After the ban was lifted at the end of 1990, however, the population was found to be, as before World War II, approximately 70 percent Muslim and 30 percent Christian (20 percent Orthodox and 10 percent Catholic), although levels of active observance are low and Albanians are very tolerant of one another's religions.

Albania has a primarily agricultural economy, with 65 percent of the population living in rural areas. Although rich in mineral resources, Albania lacks the technology and infrastructure to exploit these resources economically. Mining installations built during the periods of Soviet influence (1948–1961) and Chinese influence (1961–1978) have deteriorated beyond repair.

Albania was the last Balkan country to become free of Ottoman domination. Its present-day borders were defined in 1913 by the Great Powers (Austria-Hungary, France, Britain, and Russia), leaving as many Albanians outside Albania as within (most of those left outside fell within the borders of the former

Yugoslavia). Last to gain freedom from communism, Albania held its first free elections in 1991, resulting in a majority Communist coalition government, which lasted only a few months. This coalition's collapse was followed by several months of anarchy. Thousands fled the country at this time to Italy, Greece, and the former Yugoslavia.

In March 1992, the Democratic Party won a sweeping victory under Sali Berisha and Aleksander Meksi. Economic recovery was initially assisted by international aid; and by 1993 Albania was shown to have the fastest-growing economy and lowest inflation rate of all the former communist Eastern European countries. Berisha's autocratic behavior soon disenchanted many of his former supporters, however, who created a new Democratic Alliance. After Berisha failed to win the referendum for a new constitution in November 1994, his efforts to silence opposition increased. Although national and international observers claimed that his party's victory in the May 1996 election was fraudulent, Berisha continued to receive strong U.S. and European support.

After 1992, individuals developed "pyramid" investment schemes that paid out very high interest rates to their first investors. These schemes grew rapidly, involving more than half the population as well as wealthy expatriates. Considerable sums of money were also made by illicit transport of oil through Albania to Montenegro in defiance of the trade embargo on Yugoslavia. Although this practice helped to support the pyramid schemes, it only delayed their eventual collapse. When investors began to panic in January 1997, demanding the return of their capital, police responded to peaceful demonstrations with violence. Cheated investors held the government to blame for condoning the schemes, and there were claims that members of the government were among the beneficiaries. As popular frustration rose, violence and looting rapidly got out of hand, armories were ransacked, and Berisha in turn supplied arms to all those he believed were his supporters. By May 1997, it was estimated that more than a million weapons were in the hands of the general population. Armed gangs took control of large areas of the country; 1,800 people are believed to have died violent deaths.

The solution to this state of anarchy was seen to lie in fresh, closely observed elections. In March 1997 a caretaker government of national reconciliation under Bashkim Fino of the Socialist Party took over. A state of emergency was introduced, backed by an Italian-led multinational force of 7,000; it lasted until the newly elected parliament met in July. The election of June 29 showed such a clear majority for the Socialist Party that, even allowing for some irregularities

in voting propriety, it could not be disputed. Fatos Nano (who had spent four years in jail following his arrest on dubious charges of embezzlement) became prime minister and Rexhep Mejdani became president. Cautious optimism brought renewed international support to Albania.

The combination of Albania's internal instability, its long border with the former Yugoslavia, and the latter's large Albanian minority ensured that Albania remained a focus of interest throughout the period of Yugoslavia's disintegration. Concern within Albania for the Albanian population of Kosovo ("Kosova" in Albanian) varied throughout the communist period depending on Albania's relationship with Yugoslavia. Josip Broz Tito's campaign of "Brotherhood and Unity" encouraged a bridge-building attitude that Albania accepted to varying degrees, depending in particular on the extent of isolationism pursued by Albania's communist leader, Enver Hoxha (head of state from 1945 until his death in 1985). During the early 1980s, Yugoslavia became one of Albania's major trading partners, and for some years the nations' ideological differences were minimized. A new railway between Titograd (Podgorica) and Shkodra was opened in 1986. In 1988, Albanian representatives attended the Balkan Foreign Ministers Conference in Belgrade and affirmed Albania's friendship with Yugoslavia. At this time, Albanian relations were better with the Yugoslav capital of Belgrade than with Pristina, the capital of Kosovo.

As Serb-Kosovar relations deteriorated, however, the government of the Albanian capital city of Tirana protested against the treatment of Kosovars. Kosovars were encouraged by support from Albania itself in the face of increasingly frequent abuses of human rights. Albania gave official recognition to the September 1991 referendum declaring that the "Republic of Kosova" should be a sovereign and independent state. Berisha expected sympathy from the United States and Western Europe for his original support for unification, but he did not find it forthcoming. At the same time, Kosovars were regarded as unscrupulous and unpopular among the people of Albania, and domestic interest in unification declined. With encouragement from the U.S. ambassador in Tirana, William Ryerson, Berisha proposed a plan for the Kosovo issue involving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations (UN), for which he was commended for his restraint. Likewise, in Macedonia, Berisha initially offered strong support to Albanians. Their oppression by Slav Macedonians was not as severe as that suffered by Kosovar Albanians, however, and Berisha was unable to maintain this support. Since the

fall of Berisha, the Albanian and Macedonian governments have cooperated to reduce the flow of illicit weapons into Macedonia. The smaller Albanian population in Montenegro has been less well organized and has received less attention from the Albanian government.

Antonia T. Young

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo; Kosovo, War Crimes in; Macedonia

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Albright, Madeleine

Madeleine Korbel Albright is a former U.S. secretary of state and the first woman to hold that position. Born Marie Jana Korbelova on May 15, 1937, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, she was the daughter of a Czech diplomat, Josef Korbel. Both her parents were Jewish, but they converted from Judaism to Roman Catholicism before fleeing Czechoslovakia after Germany invaded in 1939. Albright spent the war years in London, enduring the blitz and nightly bombing raids in 1940 and 1941. Unaware of her Jewish identity and believing herself to be Catholic, she did not realize that many members of her family in Czechoslovakia had been murdered by the Nazis during the Holocaust.



Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and the first woman to hold the position of U.S. secretary of state. Albright's tenure oversaw the NATO campaign to stop Serbia's ethnic cleansing of the Kosovar Albanians. (Department of State)

Like many Czech Jewish émigrés, the Korbels returned to Czechoslovakia after the war. Albright's father resumed his diplomatic career and became ambassador to Yugoslavia; he had his daughter educated privately and at the *Prealpina Institut pour Jeunes Filles*, in Chexbres, Switzerland. After the communists took over Czechoslovakia in 1948, however, Korbels were forced to resign his position. He instead found work with the new United Nations (UN) organization, and the family moved to New York before relocating to Denver, Colorado, where he became a professor of political science at the University of Denver.

Madeleine Korbels became a U.S. citizen in 1957 and attended Wellesley College, Massachusetts, where she graduated with honors in political science in 1959. After her marriage in 1960, she moved to Chicago, then New York, and,

finally, Washington, DC. Later in the decade she undertook an MA at Columbia University and in 1975 earned a PhD from the same institution.

After working briefly in the Democratic administration of President Jimmy Carter, she then pursued an academic career, undertaking research at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. In 1982 she became a member of the faculty at Georgetown University, while also working for the Democratic Party.

In 1992 President Bill Clinton recruited Albright to assist in his presidential transition team, prior to choosing her as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations in 1993—a position in which she stayed until January 1997. In this capacity she presented the United States' response at the UN during the second half of the Bosnian War and the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

In an interview for the 2004 documentary *Ghosts of Rwanda* (dir. Greg Barker), Albright commented that on a personal and emotional level Rwanda sits as the greatest regret she has from her time as UN ambassador. Her position was that there was very little information about Rwanda brought to the Security Council, and that, as a result, Rwanda was not high on the agenda; at the same time the Security Council was dealing with a considerable number of other issues for which more information was forthcoming.

Further, once Rwanda was on the table for discussion, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali did not appear to provide the Council with many workable alternatives for action. Albright's instructions from Washington, with which she personally disagreed, were to support a full withdrawal of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). She fought hard for this stance to be overturned, and working through the National Security Council rather than the State Department, she eventually received new instructions that allowed for a reinforcement of UNAMIR rather than a complete withdrawal. Despite this small victory, Albright was aware that had she pushed for anything more extensive she would not have been successful. In retrospect, she wished she could have done more and fought harder, though she fully appreciated that if she had done so a dim view would have been taken of her efforts. Moreover, she did not think that within the context of the time much more could have been done in any case.

And not only that, it also had to be borne in mind that at that stage she was not yet secretary of state. She was the U.S. ambassador to the UN, and, as such, had to follow the instructions she received. Despite this, and with the example of Rwanda before her, she was equally shocked at the ongoing violence in Bosnia-

Herzegovina and used her position to call for punitive bombing against the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic in 1994 and 1995.

On December 5, 1996, President Clinton nominated her to be the 64th secretary of state of the United States. She was sworn in on January 23, 1997, and remained until January 20, 2001. She was the highest-ranking woman to serve in a U.S. administration up to that time. During her tenure as secretary of state, she was fully supportive of bringing Milosevic to justice through the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague, under the prosecution of Louise Arbour. As U.S. ambassador to the UN, Albright had been closely involved in helping to formulate U.S. policy regarding the Bosnian War, and her hard-line approach angered the Serbs for what they perceived as an anti-Serb position. After the conclusion of the Bosnian War in 1995, however, she was fully involved and supportive in rebuilding efforts, involving the commitment of both personnel and financial aid amounting to billions of dollars in relief aid. She also traveled to Bosnia to witness the sites of atrocities firsthand.

In March 1998, however, after violence once more erupted, this time in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo, Albright saw that this time the United States and its NATO allies had to intervene before the new situation got completely out of hand. The result was the decision by NATO, after many serious attempts at negotiation, to commence military action against Serbia in March 1999. The hope was that this would coerce Milosevic into stopping the attacks against the Kosovars, but the opposite took place: rather than succumbing, Milosevic took the chance afforded by NATO's intervention to attempt to "ethnically cleanse" Kosovo of Albanians. During Serbia's war with NATO, 1.3 million Kosovars were forcibly driven from their homes, and 800,000 were physically expelled. Thousands were killed, raped, and maimed in the process, in what many nicknamed "Madeleine's War."

Albright's experiences as U.S. ambassador to the UN during the Rwandan genocide conditioned her response to Kosovo. On this occasion, she felt that the United States could not again sit by to wait until all the various aspects of peacekeeping operations were worked out in detail, holding instead that NATO had to intervene in a humanitarian way in order to stop ethnic cleansing—in short, that a repetition of the events of the early 1990s would not take place on her watch.

Albright's term as secretary of state ended in January 2001 with the ascent to office of President George W. Bush. In 2003 she published her memoir, *Madam*

Secretary, which gave her side of the story of her life and career.

In November 2007 Albright and former Clinton White House secretary of defense William Cohen agreed to serve as cochairs of a new “Genocide Prevention Task Force,” established jointly by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the American Academy of Diplomacy, and the United States Institute of Peace. The ensuing report, *Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers*, was released on December 8, 2008. It concluded that genocide is preventable, and that making progress toward doing so begins with leadership and political will. In its 34 recommendations, it laid out a comprehensive approach to genocide prevention, recommending improved early warning mechanisms, early action to prevent crises, timely diplomatic responses to emerging crises, greater preparedness to employ military options, and action to strengthen global norms and institutions.

Active in retirement, Albright serves as one of the honorary chairs of the World Justice Project, a multinational, multidisciplinary organization launched by the American Bar Association in 2006. It works to lead a global, multidisciplinary effort to strengthen the rule of law for the development of communities, based on opportunity and equity, and is dedicated to developing practical programs in support of the rule of law around the world. She is also currently the Mortara Distinguished Professor of Diplomacy at Georgetown University’s Walsh School of Foreign Service in Washington, DC.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Blair, Tony; Clinton, Bill; Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo, War Crimes in; Racak Massacre; Rambouillet Accords

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Arbour, Louise

Louise Arbour is a former UN high commissioner for human rights, judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (ICTY and ICTR, respectively). Born in Montreal on February 10, 1947, the daughter of a middle-class francophone family, she was initially educated at the *Collège Régina Assumpta* prior to commencing her studies in law in 1969 at the *Université de Montréal*. In 1970 she graduated in law with distinction and was called to the Quebec bar in 1971. In 1971–1972 she was a law clerk for Mr. Justice Louis-Philippe Pigeon of the Supreme Court of Canada, and in 1977 she was called to the Ontario bar. Throughout this time and beyond, she also taught at Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, in a variety of faculty roles, eventually becoming associate dean in 1987. That year she was elevated to the Supreme Court of Ontario as a trial judge and in 1990 was appointed to the Ontario Court of Appeal, the first francophone judge ever chosen for that position.

From this base, she was chosen in April 1995 to chair a commission of inquiry into the operation of Canada's correctional services, following allegations of abuse by inmates at a women's prison in Kingston, Ontario.

In October 1996, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced that he had chosen Arbour to serve as chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, Netherlands, and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. These two tribunals had been set up by the UN in 1993 and 1994, respectively. The first was given the task of probing war crimes in the former Yugoslavia; the second was created to deal with the genocide in Rwanda in the spring of 1994. Both were severely lacking in even the most fundamental

requirements to investigate and bring prosecutions. Arbour's task was immense from the beginning. Not only did she have to build a prosecutorial infrastructure from scratch, she also faced scepticism from member states of the UN as well as outright opposition from members of the international legal community, many of whom questioned the legitimacy of such tribunals within international law.

Nonetheless, she persevered, and by May 1999 she presented an indictment for war crimes against Yugoslavia's president Slobodan Milosevic. What prompted her action on this occasion was NATO's intervention in the Serbian province of Kosovo, where Milosevic's troops were engaging in an ethnic cleansing campaign against the province's Kosovar Albanian population. It was the first time a serving head of state had been arraigned before an international court of this kind. By speaking out and making the indictment public, Arbour was criticized in some quarters for acting as an impediment to any negotiations that might lead to peace, but her commitment to justice overrode her concerns about what the military and the diplomats could or could not achieve. Several others were also indicted during Arbour's time as chief prosecutor at the ICTY, including the president of the Republic of Serbia after Milosevic, Milan Milutinovic; Yugoslavia's deputy prime minister Nikola Sainovic; and the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav armed forces, Dragoljub Ojdanic, among others.

As the first prosecutor of the ICTY and the ICTR, Arbour set the tone for the nature of the investigations and prosecutions that would follow. In September 1999, when she announced her retirement from the position, she enjoyed wide respect within the legal community and was perhaps the best-known legal figure in the world.

In late 1999 Arbour was appointed by Canadian prime minister Jean Chretien as a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. Then, on February 10, 2004, she accepted the position of United Nations high commissioner for human rights (HCHR). This saw her leave the Supreme Court, taking her oath as high commissioner in Geneva on July 1, 2004. As HCHR she often attracted the criticism of bias toward the condemnation of democracies rather than dictatorships, though this was rejected by impartial reports and observers from several nongovernmental organizations. In July 2008 she left the position, her reputation largely intact—a singular achievement in view of the many denunciations she leveled at states around the world for their human rights records. Since July 2009 she has served as president and chief executive officer of the International Crisis Group, an international nongovernmental organization

dedicated to strengthening the capacity of the international community to anticipate, understand, and act to prevent and contain deadly conflict.

Throughout her career, Arbour has published extensively, in both French and English, in the fields of criminal procedure, criminal law, human rights, civil liberties, and gender issues. Nearly 30 universities have awarded her honorary doctorates, and in 2005 she and Justice Richard Goldstone were joint winners of the prestigious Thomas J. Dodd Prize in International Justice and Human Rights, in recognition of their work on the ICTY and ICTR. She was made a companion of the Order of Canada in 2007 “for her contributions to the Canadian justice system and for her dedication to the advancement of human rights throughout the world,” and in 2009 she became a grand officer of the National Order of Quebec.

In 2005 Arbour was the subject of a joint Canadian-German made-for-television movie about the quest to establish the ICTY, *Hunt for Justice*, directed by Belgian filmmaker Charles Biname. Canadian actress Wendy Crewson played the part of Arbour in a fictionalized account of her struggle to indict, arrest, and convict those responsible for criminal acts during the Bosnian War. The film culminates with the 2001 arrest of Slobodan Milosevic and his imprisonment prior to his trial in The Hague.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Del Ponte, Carla; International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

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Ashdown, Paddy

Baron Ashdown of Norton sub Hamdon, born Jeremy John Durham Ashdown in New Delhi, India, on February 27, 1941, is a former British politician, United Nations representative, and officer in the Royal Marines. He was the eldest of seven children. When he was four years old his family returned from India to Britain to buy a farm in Ulster. The Irish accent he acquired when growing up earned him the nickname "Paddy," which stayed with him for the rest of his life. Between 1959 and 1972 he served as a Royal Marines officer, and he saw active service as a commando in Borneo and the Persian Gulf. After Special Forces training in England in 1965, he commanded a Special Boat Section in the Far East. He went to Hong Kong in 1967 to undertake a full-time course in Mandarin Chinese, returning to England in 1970 to take command of a unit stationed in Belfast.

In 1972 Ashdown left the Royal Marines and joined the Foreign Office, where he was posted to the British mission to the United Nations in Geneva. It is alleged in some circles that this was a cover for Ashdown serving as an intelligence officer with Britain's secret intelligence service, MI6. Between 1974 and 1976 he helped negotiate a number of international treaties and agreements, and was involved in various aspects of the 1973 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Conference.

Upon leaving the Foreign Office in 1976, Ashdown worked in local industry in the Yeovil area in Somerset. An interest in politics led him to becoming endorsed in 1976 as the Liberal candidate for Yeovil. He ran for Parliament unsuccessfully in 1979 but was elected in 1983, becoming the Liberal/Social

Democratic Party Alliance spokesman on trade and industry affairs. In January 1987 he became education spokesman, and in July 1988 was elected leader of the Liberal Democrats. On January 1, 1989, he became a privy councillor. After a successful term as leader of the Liberal Democrats, he stood down in 1999, was knighted in 2000, and retired from the House of Commons in 2001. A year later he was created Baron Ashdown of Norton sub Hamdon.

Through all this time, Ashdown maintained a keen interest in foreign affairs, in particular the war in Bosnia. He was a leading advocate for decisive international action to enforce peace, arguing strongly in favor of a quick and comprehensive finish to the conflict. He visited the country many times during the conflict and afterward. With this interest and background, on May 27, 2002, he was appointed to the position of high representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Office of the High Representative (OHR), an agency created in 1995 to oversee the Dayton Agreement's civilian implementation. Part of Ashdown's brief was to serve as the European Union special representative to Bosnia. In taking up his position he became the fourth, and ultimately the longest-serving, high representative of the international community in Bosnia, succeeding Austrian diplomat Wolfgang Petritsch.

Earlier, on March 14, 2002, Ashdown had testified as a witness for the prosecution at the trial of Slobodan Milosevic at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. The defense tried to cast doubt on Ashdown's testimony, but in a careful refutation of the defense strategy he actually strengthened his account and gave added credibility to the case against Milosevic.

Ashdown remained high representative—and was sometimes disparagingly nicknamed “the Viceroy of Bosnia” by critics—until May 20, 2006. Some saw him as high-handed and imperious in his approach, based on his reputation as one who was often too quick to intervene directly in Bosnian affairs. It was said that he showed a preference for avoiding the frustrations of delay caused through paperwork and bureaucratic red tape by using “bulldozer” tactics rather than diplomacy and negotiation—such as on one occasion when he fired 60 Bosnian Serb officials on the grounds that they were allegedly part of a support network helping fugitive war crimes suspects evade justice. (Most of these ultimately never appeared in court, due to a lack of hard evidence against them.)

Ashdown's overall record was mixed. While rarely admitting to mistakes, his actions were nonetheless successful in bringing the ethnically divided Bosnian army under one united command structure, and in introducing a new state

taxation system. Other achievements included strengthening the role of the central government, including turning the previously frequently rotating position of prime minister into something more stable across the duration of a fixed four-year electoral cycle. He later described his biggest disappointment as the failure, on his watch, to capture the two leading war crimes suspects from the Balkans conflict, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

Upon his departure, Ashdown was replaced as UN high representative by a former German government minister, Christian Schwarz-Schilling. In early 2008 Ashdown was mentioned as a possible candidate to become UN special envoy in Afghanistan after being approached for the position by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. He withdrew his bid, however, after the Afghan government of President Hamid Karzai said it would prefer not to have Ashdown in this new role. Karzai was worried that the mandate of a “super representative,” with the kind of authority and powers Ashdown once enjoyed in Bosnia, could spiral out of control and diminish the opportunities for a return to stable democracy for Afghanistan in the future.

In 2010, Ashdown was once more on the hustings in British politics, this time campaigning on behalf of the Liberal Democrats in the general election of May 6. Throwing his full support behind party leader Nick Clegg, Ashdown was rewarded when Clegg entered into a coalition government with Conservative leader David Cameron and became deputy prime minister.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Hurd, Douglas; Milosevic, Slobodan

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B

Babic, Milan

Milan Babic was a Croatian Serb politician who, between 1991 and 1995, was president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK). He was born in the village of Kukar near the town of Vrlika, Croatia, on February 26, 1956. A dentist by profession, in 1989 he became one of the directors of the medical center in Knin, a largely Serb-inhabited town in southwestern Croatia. Establishing himself as a leading member of the community, in February 1990 he abandoned the League of Communists of Croatia in order to join the recently established ultranationalist Serbian Democratic Party (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, or SDS) cofounded by Radovan Karadzic. He held a senior position in the SDS municipal committee in Knin, and from this he was elected municipal assembly president, or mayor, later in 1990, where he stayed until April 1994.



Milan Babic, a Croatian Serb politician who, between 1991 and 1995, was president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Indicted by the ICTY in November 2003, Babic pleaded guilty to crimes against humanity and expressed remorse for his actions. He was sentenced to a term of 13 years imprisonment and committed suicide in prison on March 5, 2006. (Michael Kooren/AFP/Getty Images)

Knin is located in a region of the former Yugoslavia known as the Krajina, a borderland between Croatia and Bosnia. Traditionally it was the heartland of Croatia's ethnic Serb community, which in 1990 comprised about 11 percent of Croatia's population. With the rise to power of Croatian nationalist leader Franjo Tudjman and his political party, the Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*, or HDZ), ethnic Serbs began to have their rights to autonomy cut back. As Croatia then moved toward independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, Serbs in the Krajina, opposed to any status that would force them to remain in an independent Croatia, began to make moves to break away and establish their own state. A Serbian National Council was established

to coordinate opposition to Croatia, and Babic was elected its president. On December 21, 1990, he announced the creation of a Serbian Autonomous District (*Srpska autonomna oblast*, or SAO) of Krajina, and on April 1, 1991, announced that it would secede from Croatia to join Serbia. Other majority Serb communities in eastern Croatia announced that they also would join the SAO.

The SAO attempted to create the key trappings of statehood. On April 30, 1991, it established an Executive Council (of which Babic was elected president), and a territorial defense force with Babic as minister of the interior and minister of defense. He in turn assumed the position of commander in chief of the armed forces, and established an armed militia that blockaded roads and cut the Croatian coastal region off from the rest of the country. The Executive Council established no-go areas for the Croatian security forces, resulting almost immediately in clashes between the Krajina Serbs and Croatian security forces. The fighting escalated during 1991. The Krajina Serbs, supported by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA), took the offensive against the Croatian army, and were successful in occupying nearly 30 percent of Croatian territory.

On May 29, 1991, Babic was appointed as interim prime minister/president of the government of the self-declared SAO Krajina. From this position, on December 19, 1991, the SAO Krajina proclaimed itself as the Republic of Serbian Krajina (*Republika Srpska Krajina*, or RSK). Babic held the position of president until February 15, 1992. In April 1994 he added to his portfolio the title of minister of foreign affairs, and in July 1995 he was elected prime minister. He held this latter position for only a few weeks; in August 1995, as Croatian forces took the offensive in the Krajina, the RSK leadership, along with some 200,000 Krajina Serbs, fled to nearby Serbia.

During the war for control of the Krajina, Babic was allegedly involved in a joint criminal enterprise, the purpose of which was the permanent forcible removal of the majority of the Croat and other non-Serb populations from the Krajina and other areas in Croatia in order to make them part of a new Serb-dominated state. This would involve a number of acts which, later, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) adjudged to be criminal. Others allegedly involved in the enterprise included such names as Slobodan Milosevic, Vojislav Seselj, Ratko Mladic, and other Krajina Serb leaders such as Milan Martić. The campaign, put simply, was a premeditated attempt at ethnic cleansing.

During the period between approximately August 1, 1991, and February 15, 1992, Krajina Serb forces, supported by units from the JNA, attacked towns, villages, and localities within the SAO Krajina. They then instituted a system of political, racial, and/or religious persecutions aimed at forcing the Croatian and other non-Serb civilian populations out of the areas. By his own admission, Babic later acknowledged that he had contributed to these persecutions. Specifically, he devised and upheld the ethnic cleansing program, and participated in and drove forward its development and execution. He also requested the help of the JNA to help bring it about, after which that army became a key player in the overall campaign.

Owing to political maneuvering involving the future of the Balkans, on February 26, 1992, Milosevic contrived to weaken Babic's position within RSK and have him removed in favor of the much more politically acceptable Goran Hadzic. Babic's effectiveness as a key figure in Serb politics did not fully recover after this. He retained the portfolio of minister of foreign affairs, but was never again to hold the highest office.

In October 2001, Babic contacted the ICTY, and agreed not only to be questioned but to give testimony in the case of Slobodan Milosevic then taking place. At the end of 2002 he duly testified, arguing that although Milosevic, as president of Serbia, had no formal control over events in Croatia, he had the authority in practice to determine the policies of Croatia's hard-line Serbs (such as Babic himself). Babic's testimony was as part of a preemptive plea bargain, as he himself was indicted before the ICTY on November 17, 2003, after which he surrendered voluntarily to the tribunal. Initially, he refused to plead either guilty or not guilty to the five charges against him, but on January 27, 2004, he pleaded guilty to one count of crimes against humanity. In return for this guilty plea, the prosecution dropped the other four charges. He also issued a statement expressing "shame and remorse" for his actions, one of only a handful of defendants to have done so, and the only major figure involved in the Croatian War to make such an admission.

On January 28, 2004, the first trial chamber accepted Babic's guilty plea and withdrew the other counts. The prosecutor called for a maximum sentence of 11 years' imprisonment, but the tribunal went further, and on June 29, 2004, sentenced him to a term of 13 years. Although appealed, the sentence was upheld on July 18, 2005, and Babic was transferred to an undisclosed prison abroad.

He was then brought back to The Hague briefly to testify against his former political rival, Milan Martić, his successor as president of the RSK. On March 5, 2006, however, he was found dead in his cell in the ICTY detention unit after committing suicide.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Hadžić, Goran; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milošević, Slobodan; Mladić, Ratko; Seselj, Vojislav; Tuđman, Franjo; Yugoslavia People's Army

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Banking

Although often overlooked in recent analyses of the Yugoslav crises and wars of the 1990s, banking issues are of crucial importance in explaining the origins, dimensions, and economic consequences of the conflict.

Formerly presided over by the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) and the federation's six republican central banks, the Yugoslav banking and monetary system began to disintegrate under the impact of the economic and political crises of the late 1980s. Yugoslavia's US\$18 billion foreign debt problem forced a rescheduling of international liabilities in 1988. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) insisted upon accelerated economic stabilization and reform in return for its continuing financial support.

The IMF's related insistence on a strengthened federation—at the moment when the federation's very legitimacy was being openly contested by the constituent republics—proved to be highly problematic. Although economically rational, and, in part, successful, under the leadership of federal premier Ante Markovic from 1989 to 1991, IMF-supported economic stabilization and reform came apart as a result of the opposition of all the federation's republican governments, that of Serbia in particular.

Because of the interference of the Serbian government, the autonomy of the Belgrade-based NBJ was effectively destroyed during 1990. Following the illegal appropriation of around US\$1.5 billion of hard currency and other assets by Serbia just before its parliamentary elections in December 1990, the Yugoslav crisis passed the point of no return. For Slovenia in particular, this blatant theft was the last straw a month before the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (SKJ) collapsed at its final congress in January 1991. In an equally serious development, through the NBJ, the Serbian government seized over US\$5 billion of hard currency banked by private individuals throughout the

imploding federation in 1991—a policy that was little more than theft and that was to lead to a serious crisis of confidence in all banks.

Throughout 1991, further confusion ensued when what remained of the all-Yugoslav banking and monetary system completely collapsed as Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia declared their independence from the federation. This process of disintegration was completed when Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence in April 1992. Thereafter, each of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia was to have its own central bank, currency, and banking system. All the former Yugoslav republics except Slovenia defaulted on their foreign debt liabilities at this time.

The newly declared Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)—composed of Serbia and Montenegro—was also subjected to economic sanctions by the United Nations from 1992 to 1995. A policy of reckless fiscal and monetary expansionism at a time of declining output and trade, as well as under conditions of war and sanctions, resulted in hyperinflation, culminating in the highest inflation ever recorded in modern times: 1.3 trillion percent in 1993. In a desperate attempt to raise hard currency locally, the NBJ also allowed the operation of a number of semicriminal “private” banks involved in fraudulent pyramid schemes, resulting in losses of over US\$2 billion for their depositors by the time they collapsed in 1995. The FRY also used an elaborate network of offshore banking facilities linked to Cyprus to launder stolen monies and to circumvent the UN economic sanctions before these sanctions were lifted in 1995. In a belated bid to avoid a complete economic collapse in 1994, the FRY introduced a new Yugoslav dinar tied to the German mark. Overseen by a new NBJ governor and former World Bank official, Dragoslav Avramovic, this policy partly stabilized the economy and banking system of the FRY. Pending the lifting of the remaining “outer wall” of financial sanctions against the FRY, however, the rehabilitation of the republic’s economy, banking system, and foreign debt position will remain incomplete.

Elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, similar and inflationary fiscal and monetary expansionism under the impact of war and economic decline took place in all of the successor states during the early 1990s, followed by deflationary financial stabilization often supported by the IMF. Only in Slovenia has a properly functioning banking system emerged. In Croatia, a functioning banking and monetary system based on a new currency did not emerge until 1994. By 1997, however, Croatia was not far behind Slovenia in being able to borrow money abroad more or less normally. In Macedonia, financial

stabilization did not begin until 1995, when a highly damaging economic blockade by Greece was finally lifted. In 1997 a major pyramid-scheme banking scandal raised doubts about the integrity of Macedonia's financial system. Partitioned through war and economically devastated during the 1990s, Bosnia-Herzegovina has yet to create any sort of functioning economy and banking system. In practice, it remains completely dependent on foreign economic aid for its very survival.

Marko Milivojevic

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatia; Macedonia; Markovic, Ante; Montenegro; Serbia

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Bihac

Bihac is a city on the Una River in northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina. During World War II, Bihac formed part of fascist Croatia until it was liberated by the forces of Josip Broz Tito in 1942.

During the Bosnian War, Bihac was besieged for three years, from June 1992 until August 5, 1995, by the combined forces of the Army of Republika Srpska, troops from Serbian Krajina, and forces of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia led by Fikret Abdic. It has been estimated that during the siege Bihac suffered losses of 4,856 killed and missing.

The siege was precipitated by the secession of the Serb Republic of Serbian Krajina in 1991. When Bosnian Serbs then proclaimed the Republika Srpska in 1992, Bihac and its surrounding region became isolated and surrounded by hostile forces. As the residents dug in, supported by local volunteers from the Croatian Defense Council (*Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*, or HVO), a siege commenced in the hope of holding the area for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On May 6, 1993, the Bosnian safe areas initiative was extended to the towns and cities of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, and Bihac. When added to Srebrenica, the idea was that the UN, through the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), would protect these locations through the deployment of international troops. Such help was necessary. UN aid convoys were unable to get through to the Bihac area, and airlifts were next to impossible. The city faced constant bombardment while having to find ways to feed and house an unceasing stream of refugees from the surrounding countryside.

By November 1994, Serbs had taken fully one-third of the Bihac zone, which looked in danger of falling. At this time, the United Nations in New York debated what action could be taken to prevent the Serb takeover of the city, but

no agreement could be reached as the Serbs came ever closer. A Serb demand that the city surrender was rejected by the city fathers on the grounds that to do so would be to offer up Bihac to the prospect of annihilation.

The fall of the Srebrenica and Zepa in July 1995 both encouraged the Serbs and steeled the Croats to prevent the fall of Bihac at all costs. The result saw a massive new Croat offensive launched on August 4 and 5, 1995—Operation STORM—which finally ended the siege after the Croatian forces overran Serb positions. With the end of the siege, food and medicine began arriving in significant quantities for the first time in three years.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Abdic, Fikret; Bosnian Safe Areas; Bosnian War

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Blair, Tony

Tony Blair was a British Labour Party politician and prime minister of the United Kingdom from May 2, 1997, to June 27, 2007. He led the Labour Party to a landslide victory in the 1997 general election.

Anthony (Tony) Charles Lynton Blair was born on May 6, 1953, in Edinburgh, Scotland. He graduated from Oxford with a BA in jurisprudence in 1976. Shortly thereafter, he joined the Labour Party and became a member of Parliament for Sedgefield in 1983. He became leader of the Labour Party in Great Britain a decade later, on July 21, 1994. When the Labour Party won the 1997 general election, Blair became the youngest person, at age 43, to become prime minister since Robert Jenkinson, Lord Liverpool, in 1812.

As prime minister, Blair lent strong support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign of Yugoslavia in 1999. He was among those urging NATO to take a strong line against Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Yugoslavia. Milosevic was charged with violating human rights in his suppression of ethnic Albanians seeking secession from Yugoslavia, which precipitated the Kosovo War. Indeed, Blair supported not only an air campaign to force Milosevic to cease and desist, but he also urged a ground operation in the event that aerial bombardment did not end the conflict. In this instance, he was ahead of U.S. president Bill Clinton, who was reluctant to commit ground forces to the war in Kosovo. Blair placed some 50,000 British troops on standby readiness for rapid deployment if the situation warranted. The war ended without the insertion of ground forces, and some have argued that Blair's threat of a ground intervention might have helped compel Milosevic to back down.

Through his robust backing of a strong NATO response, Blair demonstrated that he would support the use of force in order to spread liberty and protect human rights. On April 22, 1999, in a speech in Chicago less than a month after

the bombing campaign against Yugoslavia had commenced, he put forth what became known as the Blair doctrine. In it he argued that it was sometimes necessary to use force to prevent genocide and widespread harm to innocent peoples.

After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States, which led to the deaths of nearly 3,000 people, Blair quickly aligned Britain with the United States. He was convinced that the perpetrators of the act should be dealt with quickly and decisively to prevent setting in motion a series of events that might set Muslims against the Western world. He thus helped form the international coalition that carried out the 2001 intervention in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), which toppled the extremist Taliban Islamist group that ruled Afghanistan at the time, and that was accused of supporting the terrorist group Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda, an organization whose objective was to bring down existing governments in the Middle East and impose radical Islamist rule on others around the world, became the top target in the global war on terrorism. Blair's government sent air, sea, and ground assets into Afghanistan during the initial thrust against the Taliban.

In 2003 Blair enthusiastically supported President George W. Bush's call for an invasion of Iraq in order to overthrow the government of President Saddam Hussein. Blair argued that the Iraqi government, which had been ordered by the United Nations to dispose of its alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), had not cooperated with UN weapons inspectors and was therefore subject to attack. When the United States invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003, the British government sent 46,000 British troops to assist with the invasion. Britain was by far the largest non-U.S. contingent in the coalition that supported Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. British troops remained in Iraq throughout the rest of Blair's premiership, which ended on June 27, 2007. The number of British troops in Iraq decreased significantly since the initial invasion, however, and only about 7,000 British troops remained in that country after Blair left office.

Blair faced much criticism in Great Britain, even from members of his own party, for his support of the U.S. war effort. Critics accused him of spinning questionable evidence to galvanize support for the invasion of Iraq. Claims that Iraq possessed WMDs were never proven, and to date no WMDs have been located in Iraq.

After resigning as prime minister on June 27, 2007, Blair was named an official Middle East envoy for the UN, the European Union, the United States, and Russia. He was succeeded as prime minister by Gordon Brown. Brown

continued to support the United States in its reconstruction efforts in Iraq. He did, however, call for significant British troop reductions.

Domestically, Blair has been both credited and criticized for having moved the Labour Party to the center of the political spectrum. His market-oriented policies seemed to boost the British economy and kept the Conservatives from questioning his motives. Blair successfully pushed for more funds for education and health care, and he oversaw the implementation of a national minimum wage act. Despite his domestic successes, however, foreign affairs greatly overshadowed his premiership, none more so than the divisive Iraq War.

Gregory W. Morgan

See also: Clinton, Bill; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo War; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United Kingdom

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Blaskic, Tihomir

Tihomir Blaskic is a former Bosnian Croat colonel and former general in the Croatian army, who was convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in March 2000, in connection with a massacre in the Bosnian village of Ahmici, in which approximately 100 Muslims were killed by Croat forces.

Born on November 2, 1960, in the village of Brestovsko in the Kiseljak municipality of Bosnia when it was still part of Yugoslavia, Blaskic was a career military officer who graduated from the Belgrade Military Academy in 1983.

Two days after Bosnia-Herzegovina had declared its independence on April 6, 1992, Bosnia's Croat community created the Croatian Defense Council (*Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*, or HVO), the army of the self-proclaimed Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. Blaskic was given the rank of colonel, and on June 27, 1992, was appointed commander of the regional headquarters of the HVO in central Bosnia. In August 1994 he was promoted to general and given overall command of the HVO in Herzegovina. In November 1995 he was further promoted to the position of inspector in the General Inspectorate of the army.

Between May 1992 and January 1993 Blaskic commanded troops in the Lasva Valley of central Bosnia, at a time in which Muslims and Croats began to fall out over the future control of the area. Under the Vance-Owen peace plan of January 1993, the Lasva Valley would essentially come under majority Croat rule; the Muslims, presumably, would be moved out to make way for an ethnically homogenous Croat canton. The Bosnian Croats began positioning themselves to take the best possible advantage should the Vance-Owen plan be adopted, and open conflict between Croats and Muslims in central Bosnia appeared imminent. In January and April 1993, the Croatian forces issued two

ultimata to the Muslims requiring them to surrender their arms; after the second ultimatum, HVO forces attacked.

The clear objective was one of ethnic cleansing, with the ambition of forcing the Muslims to leave the area. The acts perpetrated by HVO, Croatian militias, and regular Croat forces included murder, attacks on noncombatants, the taking of civilians as hostages, racial and religious persecution, and destruction of property for nonmilitary reasons. Several units appeared to lose control altogether, pillaging, burning houses and farm buildings, murdering civilians without distinction as to age or sex, destroying or damaging mosques, forcibly transferring people to detention centers where living conditions were deplorable, and forcing prisoners to dig trenches at various locations. In the worst of these, the massacre of some 100 Bosniak civilians took place in the village of Ahmici. They were shot dead after hiding in the cellars of a number of houses, and the houses were then set on fire. Blaskic was later charged with responsibility for the crimes committed by the troops under his command.

On April 1, 1996, Blaskic was indicted by the ICTY and surrendered voluntarily to the court. He was charged with grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions (specifically, willful murder; willfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health; widespread destruction of property; inhumane treatment; taking of civilian hostages); violations of the laws or customs of war (specifically, devastation not justified by military necessity; illegal attacks on civilians; illegal attacks on civilian property; murder; infliction of grievous bodily harm; looting of public or private property; destruction or willful damage to institutions dedicated to religion or education; cruel treatment; hostage taking); and crimes against humanity (specifically, persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds; murder; inhumane acts). His trial began in July 1997, and on March 3, 2000, the ICTY handed down a verdict of guilty. He was sentenced to 45 years in prison. In the public gallery, Blaskic's wife, Ratka, fainted as the sentence was read out.

A judicial appeal was launched immediately, on the ground that not all documentation had been forthcoming from the Croatian government regarding the chain of command. The former president of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, had opposed cooperation with the ICTY and did little to assist defense attorneys who sought access to government archives. The appeal stipulated that Blaskic was not in charge of the forces who committed the war crimes for which he was convicted, and Blaskic himself always maintained that he was responsible only for the military operations of the HVO forces in central Bosnia. A very strong

campaign for his release was waged in Croatia, and on July 29, 2004, it was successful.

His command responsibility for most of the charges was found to not have existed, and the appellate court dismissed 16 of 19 counts in the initial indictment. Blaskic's sentence was commuted from 45 years to 9 years' imprisonment, based on his good behavior while in custody, a clear prior record, his indifferent health, his voluntary surrender, and his young children. His defense applied for an early release because he had served 8 years and 4 months already, and the request was granted. He was released on August 2, 2005.

While Blaskic's appeal was successful, another figure charged with the Ahmici massacre, Dario Kordic, was much less so. Kordic, a Croatian military leader and politician with close ties to Tudjman, had been sentenced by the ICTY in 2001 to 25 years' imprisonment on Ahmici-related charges. Like Blaskic, Kordic also appealed against his verdict, though in his case the appeal was denied. Some observers anticipated that the new evidence introduced in the Blaskic case might have resulted in a heavier sentence for Kordic, and while this did not happen, nonetheless his original sentence stood. In May 2010 an appeal for his early release was denied owing to the seriousness of the crimes for which he had been convicted, and for breaches of discipline while in prison.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Arbour, Louise; Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Vance-Owen Peace Plan

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Boban, Mate

Mate Boban was a hard-line leader of Bosnia's Croats during their war with the Bosniaks in the early 1990s and a close ally of Croatian president Franjo Tudjman. Born on February 12, 1940, in the village of Sovici, a hamlet near Grude in western Herzegovina, Boban was a member of Yugoslavia's League of Communists as early as 1958. He graduated high school at a time when communist policy toward western Herzegovina was going through a rapid modification at both the republican and federal levels. After 1966 the western Herzegovinians became more and more in charge of their own affairs, though this did not lead to political liberalization. The change meant only that local Croats began to vie with each other, both in loyalty to the regime and in harshness meted out to political enemies.

In 1966 Boban became director of the Napredak publishing company in Imotski. He remained a member of the communist establishment in the region, rising to become the local party secretary. Later, he worked in a tobacco factory in Zagreb.

In the summer of 1990 he underwent a political transformation, becoming a Croatian nationalist and rejecting the communism to which he had been so committed earlier. In 1991 the ruling party in the Republic of Croatia, Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*, or HDZ), organized and controlled a branch of the party in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovie*, or HDZ-BiH). By November 1991, more extreme elements of the HDZ-BiH, under the leadership of Boban, Dario Kordic, and others, with the support of Tudjman and his close associate Gojko Susak, took effective control of the party. Boban was eventually

elected to the parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina and served as HDZ vice president before rising to the position of party president.

At this time, with the communist state of Yugoslavia collapsing, there was a drive to connect all the Croat communities outside of the recently declared Republic of Croatia with the new state itself. The initial phase of this would be Bosnian Croat autonomy, leading to the creation of a greater sovereign Croatia with a contiguous population. It was later suggested that Boban was handpicked by Tudjman in 1992 to form the independent Croat enclave in Bosnia.

On November 18, 1991, Boban proclaimed the existence of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia, as a separate “political, cultural, economic and territorial” entity within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He oversaw the establishment of the enclave, armed and financed by Zagreb, and led a campaign to drive the Serbs and Muslims from the territory. The move to reestablish Bosnia-Herzegovina on ethnic lines, and then arrange for the Croat and Serb areas to be merged within Greater Croatia and Greater Serbia, was presumed to be in line with the Karadjordjevo agreement between Tudjman and Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, in which, it was believed, the two met and agreed to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina between Croatia and Serbia.

The appointment of Boban as HDZ-BiH president marked the beginning of a period when Croat relations with the Bosniaks cooled, while a progressive reconciliation was effected with the radical Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. At this time it was well known that Boban, who had made some of the most appallingly racist and chauvinist statements about Islam and Muslims since the breakup of Yugoslavia, was prepared to employ sweeping measures to integrate the Herzeg-Bosnia enclave into Croatia. He introduced a nationalist Croatian curriculum into the enclave’s schools, announced that “Croatian” was now the official language, and decreed that the Croatian kuna was the only acceptable currency. Humanitarian aid was managed and distributed to the Bosniaks’ disadvantage, and Bosniaks in general were increasingly harassed. Boban’s followers purged Serbs and Muslims from government offices and the police. The enclave designed its own flag and raised its own army, and the Republic of Croatia granted Croatian citizenship to the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On September 14, 1992, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia illegal. Neither the enclave nor the self-proclaimed Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, which succeeded it on August 28, 1993, was ever recognized internationally.

Boban was among the most fervent supporters of a separate Croat state in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Under his rule, the breakaway republic engaged in continuing and coordinated efforts to dominate and ethnically cleanse the municipalities which it was claimed were part of Herzeg-Bosnia. Persecution and discrimination directed against the Bosniak population increased over time. The Croatian Defense Council (*Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*, or HVO), the army of the Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, took control of many municipalities. Armed and assisted from Croatia, it attacked and destroyed the Bosniaks if they stood in the way of acquiring territory. All the techniques of destruction and intimidation employed elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia were employed: artillery, snipers, eviction, violence, rape, robbery, and extortion were employed to injure, kill, and brutalize the Bosniak population. Many people, it was later determined, were deported to rudimentary concentration camps, at Heliodrom, Dretelj, Gabela, Vojno, and Sunje. A number of massacres committed during this process, in particular those at Ahmici (April 1993) and Stupni Do (October 23, 1993), led to international condemnation.

Boban was not above singling out his own people for brutal treatment as well. He is known to have ordered the assassination of Bosnian Croats who opposed his plans, did not show sufficient agreement with him on crucial matters, or expressed dissent against his mentor, Franjo Tudjman.

By early 1994 the tide was turning against the Bosnian Croats, and Herzeg-Bosnia ceased to exist when it joined the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the signing the Washington Agreement in March 1994. This agreement, brokered by the United States, was signed by the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic; the foreign minister of Croatia, Mate Granic; and the president of Herzeg-Bosnia, Kresimir Zubac. Mate Boban had been ousted as president after the Americans had made it clear that they had no intention of organizing any peace deal so long as he remained in office. He was effectively dismissed on the say-so of Tudjman, to whom he remained loyal to the end.

After the signing of the Washington Agreement, Boban went into retirement in Croatia. He left Zagreb when the prosecutors of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia began to take an interest in investigating his role in 1992, though nothing came of their inquiries. On July 4, 1997, he suffered a massive stroke and died three days later at a hospital in Mostar. To this day, there are persistent but unproven rumors that his death was faked to avoid being tried for war crimes.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosniaks; Concentration Camps; Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Tudjman, Franjo

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Bosnia-Herzegovina

Following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, Bosnia and Herzegovina was absorbed into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which was dominated by the Serbs. It became a part of the subsequent Kingdom of Yugoslavia when that country was created in 1929. The tables were then turned on the Muslim gentry, as Serbs and Croats took Muslim lands and attacked many Muslim Bosniaks. During World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided between Italy and Croatia, which was essentially under German control. The region was the focus of bitter civil war among its three ethnic groups even as World War II raged around it, and thousands of people lost their lives. The internal conflict ended only with the creation of the communist state of Yugoslavia in 1945—of which Bosnia and Herzegovina was a constituent part—which suppressed such dissidence under a harsh dictatorship but did little to alleviate the underlying problems.



A children's street crossing sign riddled with bullet holes stands as a symbol of war in the historic city of Mostar, capital of Herzegovina, Bosnia, in 1994. Further war damage to the surrounding buildings is evident. (Roger Lemoyne/AFP/Getty Images)

Tensions exploded anew in March 1992, when the Bosnian government followed Croatia and Slovenia in seceding from the Yugoslav federation. Although the United States and the European Union (EU) quickly recognized Bosnian sovereignty, Bosnian Serb forces, supported by the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army, took control of most of the nation's Serb-populated areas and declared the creation of the Serbian state of Republika Srpska, part of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic's plan to create a "Greater Serbia." The Bosnian Serbs began a campaign of ethnic cleansing—the massacre and forced flight of millions of Bosniaks—so that the Serbs could increase their territorial holdings. Serbs ultimately gained control of about 70 percent of Bosnian territory. The Muslim-led Bosnian government was virtually powerless to protect itself because of the introduction of a United Nations (UN) ban on the sale of arms to any of the nations involved, and it also failed to gain much authority outside the capital city, Sarajevo. The Bosniaks were also beset by conflict with Bosnian Croats, who were aided by independent Croatia in helping them sidestep the UN ban. The Croats soon gained control of areas around Mostar.

Early efforts to establish peace failed, and most of the nation's major cities and towns were heavily damaged. Sarajevo experienced a devastating siege that saw civilians ambushed by shells and sniper fire and deprived of even the most basic needs of everyday life. The Bosnian Serbs rejected proposals for a multiethnic state and continued fighting. They also rejected calls to partition the state among the three ethnic groups. In March 1994, international negotiators, led by the United States, succeeded in forging an alliance between Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats in what became a loose federation plagued by disagreement over its structure and responsibilities. UN forces were deployed to help channel humanitarian aid but were often obstructed in their efforts by Serbian attacks. The Yugoslavian regime, in an effort to bring an end to UN economic sanctions against the Belgrade government, ended its overt support of the Bosnian Serbs in August 1994 and began giving verbal support to efforts to resolve the conflict. The fighting continued, however, and the Serbs quickly rebuffed a joint Bosniak-Croat offensive and began attacking the UN-designated safe area of Bihac.

A short truce was brokered by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter in December 1994, but the Bosniak-led government refused to renew it when it expired four months later. Fighting escalated once more. The situation worsened when the Bosnian Serbs besieged and took over several safe areas, including Srebrenica and Zepa. The Serbs also took several UN peacekeepers as hostages after the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) carried out air strikes against Pale, the Serbian headquarters, to pressure the Serbs to end their siege against Sarajevo and withdraw their heavy weaponry from areas around the capital. Serbian defiance was shattered in July 1995, when Croatian forces retook Krajina, a region of Croatia dominated by Serbs, and also retook some Serb-held towns in Bosnia. The forced flight of thousands of Serbs created a new impetus for a cease-fire and peace plan. After negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland, and Dayton, Ohio, in the fall of 1995, the warring sides agreed on a plan that would grant 51 percent of Bosnia to the Bosniak-Croat federation and the remaining 49 percent to the Republika Srpska. The Dayton Agreement was signed in Paris on December 14, 1995, and its implementation began soon after, although Serbs often left and destroyed the homes they had occupied in areas being handed over to the federation. In September 1996, Bosnians selected candidates to serve in a three-member collective presidency, including one Serbian member from the Republika Srpska and both a Muslim and a Croat member from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A UN war crimes tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, was created in 1992. Most of the major figures implicated in the atrocities, including Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and military leader Ratko Mladic, have stood trial or are currently doing so.

In 2004, NATO relinquished the bulk of its peacekeeping duties to a newly created EU force (EUFOR). The EUFOR mission was the first such military deployment organized by the EU. The following year marked the 10th anniversary of the Dayton Agreement, and leaders from each of the three main ethnic groups signed a “Unity Pledge” in which they agreed to overhaul the loose confederation created by the agreement in favor of a more centralized state.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Albania; Bosniaks; Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Macedonia; Montenegro; Serbia; Yugoslavia

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Bosniaks

Bosniaks (known as *Bosnjaci*, singular *Bosnjak* in Bosnian, and before 1993 known as *Muslimani*) are a Muslim Slavic group in the former Yugoslavia. They live mostly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which they look to as their homeland (*matična država*), and in the adjoining Sandzak region of southern Serbia and northern Montenegro, but also in the other Yugoslav successor states. After 1878, many emigrated to remaining Ottoman lands. Later flows of political exiles since 1945, economic migrants since the 1960s, and refugees in the 1990s have brought a Bosniak diaspora of perhaps 500,000 to German-speaking countries, Scandinavia, North America, and Australia. In the 1991 census in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "Bosniaks" was not a category, but there were 1,902,956 Muslimani (almost 44 percent of the country's population); many of the 242,682 who declared themselves Yugoslavs would also likely identify as Bosniaks today. One recent estimate is that there are about 2.2 million Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, some 48 percent of the country's total population. Some 300,000–350,000 Bosniaks inhabit other ex-Yugoslav countries; they make up the majority (some 53 percent) in the Sandzak region, according to the 2002 and 2003 censuses.

The Muslim religion of Bosniaks, and their identification with Ottoman cultural tradition, distinguish them from neighboring Croats and Serbs, with whom they until recently shared a language. Bosniaks now refer to their language as Bosnian. Like Croatian, the written Bosnian language is based on the *Ijekavic* dialect and written in Latin script, and is distinguished mainly by a greater frequency of Ottoman-introduced loanwords and an additional "h" in some words (for example, *kahva*, coffee). The language distinguishes Bosniaks from other Muslim communities in the former Yugoslavia, which speak Albanian, Turkish, Romani, or Macedonian. The status of the Bosnian Muslims as a separate nation has been contested, and the 1993 adoption of "Bosniak" (a

word used in Ottoman times) as their ethnonym was in part intended to put a stop to claims that they were ethnic Croats or Serbs of Muslim faith. The Muslim Slav communities in Montenegro and southern Kosovo are divided over whether to identify as Bosniaks, or as Muslimani or Goranis, respectively.

Bosniaks, like Croats and Serbs, derive from the South Slavs that arrived in the area in the fifth century CE. They identify with the medieval Bosnian state under Ban Kulin (who reigned from 1180 to 1204) and King Tvrtko (who reigned from 1353 to 1391). Following the conquest of Bosnia in 1463, Ottoman sultan Mehmet II made the area an administrative province (at variously times *sancak*, *eyalet*, or *vilayet*) of the Ottoman Empire. Ancestors of the Bosniaks adopted Islam under Ottoman rule from the 15th century onward; by the 17th century, there was a Muslim majority. In the past, Islamization was explained variously as the result of forced conversion, conversion by a feudal class seeking to retain its privileges, and the mass conversion of a heretic Bosnian church. The evidence, however, points to a gradual, noncoercive process of conversion from folk Christianity to folk Islam, affecting different social strata and religious confessions; driven by the relative legal, economic, and psychological advantages of belonging to the dominant religion; and meeting scant resistance from Christian clergy, who were few and weakly organized.

Though the Muslims were regarded as “Turks” on account of their religion and participation in Ottoman culture, Bosnia was not significantly settled by ethnic Turks and the Muslim population remained Slavic speaking. An Ottoman urban civilization developed in the cities of Sarajevo, Travnik, Mostar, and other towns, fostered by the endowments of notables like Sarajevo’s Ghazi Husrev-Bey, with learning and arts in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic as well as a vernacular literature in Arabic script (*alhamiado*). The Muslims also participated in the oral culture of epic song in the Slav vernacular. Bosnia lay on the frontier between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, and the many wars and growing tax pressures were a heavy burden. The 19th century saw a number of local rebellions, both by local Muslim notables (against Ottoman modernizing and centralizing reforms, between 1821 and 1850), and by Christian peasants, the latter leading eventually to the involvement of European powers and the Ottoman loss of Bosnia to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Bosniaks are traditionally Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school. The main Sufi orders today are the Naqshbandiyya and Qadiriyya; many others, including more heterodox tendencies, have historically been present among the Bosniak population. Local religious practices of note include: the *mevlud* celebrations,

with recitations of pious poetry on Muhammad's birthday as well as on other festive occasions; the *tevhid* commemoration of the dead and the women's *tevhid* in private homes, with Koran recitation and prayers; visiting the roofed tombs (*turbeta*) of Muslim saints and martyrs; and pilgrimages with open-air devotions at particular "prayer-sites" (*dovishta*), some of which have become annual mass events. Contemporary religiosity ranges from the nonpracticing secularist to an easygoing faith stressing ethical principles and local traditions, to more rigid forms of piety that have recently asserted themselves, including Salafi influences associated with the Middle East.

Reformers and traditionalists in the first half of the 20th century debated how to adapt to life in a non-Muslim state. Muslim family and personal status law remained under sharia court jurisdiction until 1946. Under communist rule, these and other Islamic institutions were suppressed. The recognition of Muslims as a nation led to a cautious religious revival in the 1970s, with the founding of an Islamic newspaper and a theological faculty. Since the fall of communism, through the 1992–1995 war and postwar years, religion has had a high public profile, and there has been considerable growth in Islamic institutions (schools and higher education, publishing, etc.). Nearly all religious life is organized by the Islamic community, headed by a *reisu-l-ulema* (Grand Mufti), as recognized under the 2004 law on freedom of religion and religious communities.

The Bosnian Muslim population has historically been associated primarily with the urban life of traders and craftsmen. In the Bosnian borderland, unlike other Ottoman lands, the estates of military leaders often became hereditary, and there developed an indigenous Muslim nobility whose land was farmed by Christian *kmets* (serfs). There were also Muslim peasants farming their own land. Agrarian reforms in the 20th century did away with the Muslim landlord class, but many common family names incorporate titles like *beg* or *kapetan*. During the socialist period Bosnia and Herzegovina underwent rapid urbanization and development of some heavy industry. Male seasonal labor migration to countries like Germany and Switzerland was significant in the later 20th century. There is a pronounced social divide between city and countryside, and urbanites worry that their modern and cosmopolitan lifestyle is undermined by an influx of peasants displaced by the 1990s wars.

Bosniaks have lived closely mixed with Croats and Serbs, often in adjacent or shared villages and neighborhoods, and have participated with these and other groups in Bosnia's social, economic, and cultural life through shared institutions. In the early 20th century, some Muslim intellectuals promoted Croat or Serb

nationality, but most Muslims opted instead to identify themselves as nationally “undetermined” (*neopredeljeni*), until they were offered the option to officially identify as Muslims in an ethnic or national sense. Important traditional forms of artistic expression include the *sevdalinka* love songs and oral folk epics and ballads. There is a lively literary production and award-winning cinema.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (occupied in 1878 and annexed 1908), the first Yugoslavian state (1918–1941), the fascist Croatian state known as the *Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska* (NDH) during World War II, and socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1992) before becoming independent. Austro-Hungarian rule left a lasting administrative, legal, educational, and architectural legacy. Many Muslims emigrated to Ottoman lands; others remained and slowly integrated into the new institutions. Political mobilization of Muslims under the new system began with a successful movement for Muslim autonomy in matters of education and administration of the religious endowments (1899–1909). Muslim parties like the Muslim National Organization (established in 1906) and its successor, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (established 1919), joined shifting coalitions in ultimately unsuccessful attempts to prevent agrarian reform and keep Bosnia intact. In socialist Yugoslavia under Josip Broz Tito, from 1968 onward, the Communist Party recognized “Muslims” as a sixth nation (*narod*) in the country’s nationalities system, though the Muslims, unlike the other nations, did not have a republic to themselves, nor national institutions to promote their identity.

Economic crisis, the collapse of socialism, and the first free elections (in 1990) brought an uneasy coalition of nationalist parties to power. The Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije*, SDA) of Alija Izetbegovic, a broad national movement with a Pan-Islamist current, gained the Bosniak vote and has been a dominant force in Bosniak politics since. Bosnia’s subsequent declaration of independence from a dissolving Yugoslavia triggered the 1992–1995 war, in which Bosnian Serb and Croat forces supported by Serbia-Montenegro and Croatia, respectively, fought the Bosnian government to partition the country along ethnic lines. The brutal ethnic cleansing of the civilian population, the Srebrenica genocide (1995), and the siege of Sarajevo left scores of thousands of Bosniaks dead or missing, more than half of them civilians. The war experience has greatly affected all facets of Bosniak life, and it has left the challenge of rebuilding a devastated society and economy in a weak, decentralized, ethnically divided state.

Christian Moe

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Concentration Camps; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Milosevic, Slobodan; Rape Camps; Rape Warfare; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre; Tito, Josip Broz

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Bosnian National Library

The National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine*), located in Sarajevo, is the formal name given to Bosnia-Herzegovina's national library. An ideal example of the fusion of neo-Moorish and Austro-Hungarian architecture, it was designed initially in 1891 by Czech architect Karl Parzik, before being handed on to Alexander Witek for completion. He did not see the completion of the project, either; working between 1892 and 1893, he died in 1894. The project was finally completed by Ciril Ivekovic in 1894.

The building was constructed on the site of the Mustaj-pasha's *mejdan*, a circular field where previously two inns and a house were situated. The inns were pulled down, but the owner of the house sought both financial recompense and for the house to be relocated to the other side of the Miljacka River. In order to acquire the site, the price was paid; the rebuilt house still remains there, known to all as the *Inat Kuca*, or "Spite House," as it was built on account of the owner's spite.

The new municipal structure was formally opened April 20, 1896, and served as Sarajevo's city hall until 1949, at which point it was became the location of the National Library. To everyone, the building was known as the *Vijecnica* (town hall).

During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, the National Library became the scene of one of the modern world's most intense acts of cultural destruction. On August 25 and 26, 1992, the library was deliberately targeted by Serbian gunners in the hills surrounding Sarajevo, who fired incendiary shells into the stained glass skylight over the building's atrium. Almost all of the books—certainly 1.5 million volumes, but by some estimates nearly 2 million—were burned in the ensuing conflagration, together with some 700 priceless manuscripts and more

than 155,000 other rare books and manuscripts. Moreover, the attack caused the complete physical destruction of the library building itself, which was totally gutted by the fire. Only the outside shell of the Vijećnica survived.

While the attacks were taking place, concerned citizens of Sarajevo, including employees of the library, attempted to rescue whatever books they could. It was a hopeless task, made more difficult by the fact that they were subjected to sustained sniper fire from those in the hills. Many were wounded, some seriously, and one person died in the attempt.

The attack on the National Library, though the most extreme case of cultural destruction, was not the only case of its kind. Sarajevo's Municipal Public Library lost half of its 300,000 volumes, and in May 1992, Serbian forces shelled and destroyed the collections of Sarajevo's Oriental Institute together with the faculty libraries of six University of Sarajevo departments; these were completely destroyed, while four others were severely damaged at other times during the war.

The work of rebuilding the National Library has proven to be so monumental that the task would appear impossible. Apart from the physical damage to the building and the loss of practically all of the collections in their entirety, the library catalog was destroyed—so there is no way of knowing what was lost relative to what little remained.

Plans for reconstructing the building have been planned, and some work has been carried out in the vital area of international fundraising for the purpose of rebuilding. The entire project is estimated to cost up to 15 million euros (nearly US\$20 million). As of this writing, a completion date is not certain.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Sniper Alley

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Bosnian Safe Areas

Immediately following the surrender of Srebrenica to the Bosnian Serbs, in mid-April 1993 the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 819, which designated Srebrenica as a "safe area." Just over one month later, this status was extended to five other Bosnian Muslim areas: the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo itself; Gorazde and Zepa (like Srebrenica, in the southeast); Tuzla in the northeast; and Bihac in the northwest.

Often mistakenly referred to as "safe havens" (a term that the UN itself rejected because of its specific meaning in international law), these safe areas were almost as mistakenly named. There was little or no prospect of making them safe without the UN taking sides, which hitherto it had resolutely not been prepared to do; instead, the UN had emphasized its role as a humanitarian and diplomatic entity. Resolution 819, therefore, served only to show irresolution: the UN could not be keeper of the peace without being its enforcer, and to enforce the peace meant abandoning the very neutrality necessary to keep the peace, thus adding to the inherent weakness of the concept the acute difficulty of implementing it.

The UN secretary-general at the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, backed the plan for safe areas by calling for 35,000 troops to patrol them; as it turned out, the member nations supplied only one-fifth of that number. By the time of the Dayton Agreement, the three safe areas in the southeast had been taken by the Bosnian Serbs, while the other three remained as far from being safe as could be imagined.

The plan for safe areas, however well meant, was hurried, impractical, and consequently a failure, even though it was that failure that eventually

precipitated the direct armed intervention by the international community that brought the Bosnian War to an end.

John J. Horton

See also: Bosnian War; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Gorazde; Milosevic, Slobodan; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre; Tuzla; Zepa

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Bosnian War

The Bosnian War took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 6, 1992, to December 14, 1995. During this time, over 100,000 people were killed and over 1.8 million more displaced. The war resulted from a combination of political, social, and religious elements stemming from the disintegration of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and officially ended with the ratification of the Dayton Peace Agreement in Paris.

In April 1992, the people of former Yugoslavia, including the Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbians, began fighting for control of areas in the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In May 1992, the Bosnian Serb Army began their siege and shelling of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. After internal fighting between Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks, these two groups signed a peace agreement, creating the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in March 1994.

In July 1995, Serbian troops under General Ratko Mladic invaded the region of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia. In what later became known as the Srebrenica genocide, the Serbian troops murdered upwards of 7,800 Bosniak men and boys in one week. Soon afterward the Bosniak-Croat alliance began regaining ground against the Serbian forces. With North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) arbitration, the war officially ended on December 14, 1995, with the signing of the final version of the peace settlement in Paris.

Immediately following the peace agreement, the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed by the United Nations (UN). The office was formed to oversee the implementation of the aspects of the peace agreement. In addition, in 1993 the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was established by the UN to prosecute war crimes from the conflict. Controversial in nature, the court has convicted numerous people for crimes in the Bosnian and Kosovo wars.

In May 2006, Bosnia and Herzegovina brought a lawsuit against Serbia and Montenegro for inciting ethnic hatred and actively participating in the Srebrenica Massacre. It was the first time a nation charged another nation with genocide. On February 26, 2007, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Serbian leaders failed to prevent the massacre, but ultimately exonerated the country of direct responsibility for genocide. In doing so, the court prevented further lawsuits against Serbia for monetary reparations.

The Bosnian War demonstrates the considerable power of war and the resulting human rights catastrophes. The sheer number of killings and displacements demonstrates the need for further human rights legislation and enforcement.

Richard C. Hall

See also: Bosniaks; Bosnian Genocide Overview; Dayton Peace Accords; Rape Warfare

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C

Chetniks

Bands of irregular guerrilla fighters called “Chetniks” (from the Serbo-Croat term *četnici*) have come to be known for their ferocity in battle and their espousal of Serbian nationalism. The Chetnik tradition originated during the time of the Ottoman Empire, when bands of Chetniks were formed to fight the Turkish occupiers. These bands were first organized into recognizable military formations during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). During World War I, they became an integral part of the Royal Serbian Army, often operating as special forces behind enemy lines. This army was one of the first in Europe to have such guerrilla detachments in its ranks. During World War II and the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia, Chetnik bands in Serbia and Montenegro emerged under the command of General Draza Mihailovic, who decided to stay on to fight the Germans and Italians after the capitulation of the government in April 1941. After liberating areas of Serbia toward the end of 1941, the Chetniks were driven into Montenegro and Bosnia by superior German forces.

A complicated and bitter civil war then broke out between the Chetniks and the communist partisans led by Josip Broz Tito. Initially supported by the Western Allies, the Chetniks were later abandoned because of their alleged collaboration with the Axis occupiers. The British government also calculated that the entirely Serb Chetniks would not be able to resolve the deep divisions of the Yugoslav peoples in the postwar period. Increased Western political and military assistance was then made available to Tito’s partisans. By the end of 1944, Mihailovic’s Chetniks had been defeated and discredited by the communists. In April 1946 Mihailovic was tried and executed as an alleged collaborator and traitor by the new communist Yugoslav government. In parts of Serbia, Chetnik anticommunist bands were in existence until the early 1950s. Large numbers of Chetniks fled Yugoslavia after the war and settled in North America and Western Europe; during the 1960s and 1970s they occasionally undertook acts of terrorism in Yugoslavia.

A number of paramilitary forces calling themselves “Chetniks” emerged in Serbia, mainly in response to the rebellion of the Krajina Serbs in Croatia in

1990. These forces later fought in Croatia and Bosnia, where they are alleged to have committed many war crimes against non-Serbs.

These contemporary Chetniks, particularly those loyal to the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) and led by Vojislav Seselj, claim to be the latter-day followers of Mihailovic and one of his surviving commanders in exile, Momcilo Djujic. They have also called for the restoration of the exiled crown prince of Yugoslavia, Aleksandar Karadjordjevic. Early supporters of the new nationalist agenda of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, Seselj's Chetniks later fell out with their onetime ally, mainly because of his alleged betrayal of the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs. Bitterly hostile toward both communism and Tito's Yugoslavia, which they claimed was opposed to the interests of the Serbs, Serbia's new Chetniks also strove to bring about the establishment of a royalist and Orthodox "Greater Serbia" on the ruins of the Yugoslav federation.

Modern Serb Chetniks have used insignia copied from earlier Chetnik models—a black flag with white skull and crossbones, with the words "Freedom or Death" inscribed below it, and use of the three-fingered, or Orthodox, salute. Beards, a symbol of mourning for Chetniks in the past, have also been grown by today's Chetniks. Their oath has remained, as before: "For King and Country."

Marko Milivojevic

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Raznatovic, Zeljko; Scorpions; Srebrenica Massacre

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Clark, Wesley

General Wesley Clark is a retired four-star general of the United States Army. Born on December 23, 1944, in Chicago, Illinois, and raised in Little Rock, Arkansas, Clark was a recipient of a prestigious Rhodes Scholarship enabling him to study at Oxford University, where he read philosophy, politics, and economics at Magdalen College. In 1962 he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, and in 1969 was deployed to Vietnam. In January 1970 he received his first combat command, and the following month was wounded in action. After his Vietnam service he returned to West Point in a teaching capacity. Remaining in the army, Clark was stationed in Germany between 1976 and 1978, and after a number of appointments in Europe and the United States was promoted to full colonel in October 1983. On November 1, 1989, Clark was promoted to brigadier general, and in October 1992 to major general. In April 1994 he was further promoted to lieutenant general, and served as a staff officer with the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), between April 1994 and June 1996. In 1997, after a series of important military and political decisions had been made by the government of President Bill Clinton, Clark became U.S. Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), which granted him overall command of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military forces in Europe.

Clark was therefore commander of NATO forces during the Kosovo War of 1999. In the aftermath of Serbia's failed wars to retain Slovenia and Croatia, and the drawn-out and bloody conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 (resulting in up to 250,000 deaths), it was hoped by many that Serbia's nationalist regime, led by Slobodan Milosevic, would settle down and rejoin the world of peaceable nations. In March 1998, however, violence once more erupted, this time in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo. The long-term ethnic and religious animosity between minority Serbs and majority Kosovar Albanians in the province led to the establishment of a self-defense organization, the

Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which engaged in terrorist activities in order to attract international attention to their cause and at the same time intimidate Serbs in the province to leave Kosovo.

The Serbian response, in an ever-escalating environment, was to clamp down brutally on all forms of Kosovar life and expression, ultimately resulting, in the spring of 1999, in a full-scale intervention by NATO for the purpose of stopping what had in a short time descended into a Serb-driven policy of ethnic cleansing against the Kosovar Albanians. Widespread killings of Kosovar civilians took place, particularly, though not exclusively, in areas well known as KLA strongholds such as the Drenica Valley. Increasingly, the United States and its European allies saw a need to intervene before this state-initiated killing got out of hand; the result was the decision by NATO, after many serious attempts at negotiation, to commence military action against Serbia in March 1999. The hope was that this would coerce Milosevic into stopping the attacks against the Kosovars, but the opposite took place: rather than succumbing, Milosevic took the chance afforded by NATO's intervention to attempt to "ethnically cleanse" Kosovo of Albanians. During Serbia's war with NATO, 1.3 million Kosovars were forcibly driven from their homes, and 800,000 were physically expelled from Kosovo. Thousands were killed, raped, and maimed in the process, leading to accusations of genocide in many quarters.

The bombing campaign, code-named Operation ALLIED FORCE, began on March 24, 1999, and continued until June 10, 1999, and was noted for its high degree of technical application. In his desire to bring swift victory and stop the Serb assaults against Kosovo, Clark attacked not only military targets, but also facilities with dual civilian and military usages—for instance, the state-run Serb television headquarters in Belgrade. Urban concentrations were also hit, with civilian loss of life. Numbers of killed vary; Serb sources calculated anywhere between 1,200 and as many as 5,000 civilian deaths, while a Human Rights Watch report from February 2000 concluded that about 500 civilians died. There was also some damage to the environment, and questions were raised in international arenas regarding NATO's selection of bombing targets, particularly later in the war. For its part, NATO suffered no combat deaths at all, granting Clark the singular distinction of being the only U.S. general to have waged (and won) a war without any combat fatalities.

The war itself was thoroughly illegal in international law, as it had not been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council and took place in an atmosphere of NATO intimidation that for many smacked of old-fashioned

imperialism. Moreover, some antiwar activist groups labeled Clark, President Clinton, and British prime minister Tony Blair as war criminals for having launched NATO's aggressive bombing campaign and the lives taken as a result of it.

Clark, in response, stated after the war that he did not consider the conflict to be a war against the Serbian people but rather against the Serbian government, which was repressing the people of Kosovo. In his view, the strategy adopted was one of degrading and destroying the Serbian military, coercing it in such a way that it would alter its despotic behavior. Clark hoped this change could take place through bombing, but argued throughout the campaign that if it did not, the NATO political leadership should consider the deployment of ground troops to invade Serbia in order to force the issue.

In Clark's defense, supporters of the NATO action over which Clark presided could argue that ethnic cleansing was stopped, Serb persecution of Kosovars was brought to an end, and the events paving the way to Kosovo's eventual independence in February 2008 were set well in train.

Clark left his post as SACEUR in April 2000, and retired from the military on May 2, 2000, but his life was anything but quiet. On September 17, 2003, he announced his candidacy for the 2004 Democratic Party presidential primary elections, but withdrew on February 11, 2004. After winning the Oklahoma state primary, he dropped out and instead endorsed the eventual Democratic nominee, John Kerry.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Albania; Albright, Madeleine; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation ALLIED FORCE

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Clinton, Bill

Bill Clinton is a U.S. Democratic Party politician who served as president of the United States from 1993 to 2001. Clinton was born William Blythe in Hope, Arkansas, on August 19, 1946. His early life was characterized by hardships and struggles that formed his character and attitudes throughout his public life. His biological father, William Blythe III, was killed in an automobile accident prior to his son's birth, and young Blythe was raised by his mother, Virginia Kelley. His mother's marriage to Roger Clinton prompted William's adoption and the changing of his name to William Clinton.



Bill Clinton addresses United States troops at the Tuzla Air Base in Bosnia. Clinton was president of the United States from 1993 to 2001. During the Bosnian War he initially sought Western intervention, before seeking an accommodation with the Serbs. Finally, in late August 1995, he forced the warring parties to the conference table. (Department of Defense)

Clinton was a bright and astute student and decided on a career in public service and politics after meeting President John F. Kennedy on a Boys Nation trip to Washington, DC. He received a scholarship to attend Georgetown University, where he earned a degree in international affairs. During his time at Georgetown, he spent a year assisting Arkansas senator J. William Fulbright. Clinton's credentials as a progressive Democrat and social liberal were further developed under the tutelage of this prominent senator. In 1968, as the United States was being transformed by social changes and wracked by protests against the Vietnam War, Clinton was selected as a Rhodes Scholar. He spent 1968 to 1970 studying at Oxford University. On his return to the United States, he

enrolled in the Yale University Law School. While studying at Yale, Clinton met his future wife, Hillary Rodham, who shared many of his liberal and progressive ideas. They were married in 1975.

Clinton's initial foray into national politics occurred shortly after receiving his law degree. In 1974 he was defeated in a congressional race for Arkansas's Third District. After a brief career as a professor at the University of Arkansas (1974–1976), he was named state attorney general and was elected governor in 1978 at age 32, the youngest governor in the nation. In 1980 he suffered a humiliating reelection defeat, caused by widespread opposition to an automobile licensing tax. Clinton's resiliency and commitment were apparent when he successfully regained the Arkansas governorship in 1982, a post he held until his election as president in 1992.

In the summer of 1992 Clinton secured the Democratic Party nomination to run against incumbent president George Herbert Walker Bush, a Republican. Clinton was bedeviled, however, by questions regarding his marital fidelity, lack of military service, and the emerging Whitewater real estate scandal in Arkansas. In the race, he benefited from an economic downturn and businessman Ross Perot's Independent Party candidacy.

Clinton won the November 1992 election with a minority of the popular vote. During his first term he balanced domestic issues and foreign policy in a highly effective manner. At home, he lobbied unsuccessfully for major health care reform. Clinton was successful, however, in raising taxes and reducing expenditures to reduce—and then eliminate—the federal deficit and in pushing through major welfare reforms. In foreign affairs, he promoted free trade agreements, brokered peace efforts in the Middle East and Balkans, removed U.S. military personnel from Somalia, and restored diplomatic relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The congressional elections of 1994, however, brought Republican majorities in both the House and Senate. The Republicans' "Contract with America" called for reducing the role of government and continuing the conservative policies of Ronald Reagan in a thorough repudiation of Clinton's presidency. A standoff between Clinton and congressional leaders led to a federal government shutdown in November and December 1995, which many Americans blamed on Republican intransigence.

In the 1996 presidential campaign Clinton promised a tough approach to crime, supported welfare reform, called for reducing the federal deficit, and insisted on the need to continue affirmative action programs. Robert Dole, a

respected senator and World War II veteran, was the Republican Party candidate. The booming U.S. economy and suspicions regarding the Republicans' agenda ensured a respectable Clinton victory. He was the first Democrat to secure a second presidential term since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1997 Clinton submitted to Congress the first balanced budget in nearly three decades. The cooperation of congressional Republicans and major compromises by Clinton generated significant budget surpluses during the remainder of his presidency. By decade's end, the American economy was more robust than at any time since the mid-1960s, unemployment stood at a historic low, and the stock market had reached new highs.

In the spring of 1994, when there were signs of a potential genocide of Tutsis and moderate Hutus to be perpetrated by Hutus, the Clinton administration did little to dissuade the Hutus from their murderous plot. Government documents later revealed that Clinton administration officials, including Clinton himself, knew about the rising tensions in Rwanda before the killing began in April. After the genocide began, Clinton, who had already decided that the United States would not intervene in the crisis, eschewed using the term "genocide" initially, so as not to attract too much public attention. Clinton and his cabinet claimed not to have known about the true magnitude of the tragedy until nearly 800,000 people had been killed. At the time, the administration did not see Rwanda as a place in which U.S. interests were at play, and it hoped to avoid a repetition of the disastrous U.S. intervention in Somalia, which had begun in late 1992 and had embroiled American troops in a virtual civil war. In the years since the Rwanda genocide, Clinton has apologized for his administration's inaction; indeed, he has said that the episode is one of his biggest regrets while in office.

During the Bosnian War (1992–1995), Clinton initially implored the nations of western Europe to take a strong stand against the Serbs, but in the late fall of 1994, when the Serbs appeared close to defeating the Croats and Muslims in a number of areas, he decided to seek accommodation with the Serbs. However, after a series of atrocities committed by Bosnian Serbs in late August 1995, Clinton assembled a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air operation, which ultimately forced the Bosnian Serbs to the negotiating table. In November 1995, Clinton hosted a summit in Dayton, Ohio, which resulted in the Dayton Accords (signed November 21, 1995), an agreement that ended the Bosnian War and left Bosnia as a single state of two separate entities governed by one central government.

Clinton also responded effectively to a series of other international crises. In 1998, in response to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's noncompliance with United Nations (UN) weapons inspections, Clinton authorized air strikes in Iraq (Operation DESERT FOX) and instituted sanctions, which significantly hurt Iraq's economy but did not produce any significant change in the Iraqi dictator's behavior.

In the spring of 1999, Clinton supported a NATO military response to the genocide being conducted by Serbs against Albanians in Kosovo. Although the president backed an air campaign to force Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic from committing further atrocities against Albanians and other ethnic minorities, he was reluctant to dispatch ground troops to Yugoslavia, fearing high casualties and a military quagmire. In this case, British prime minister Tony Blair was actually more proactive than Clinton, urging the insertion of ground forces should the NATO air campaign prove unsuccessful. In the end, the air strikes worked, and the NATO operation came to an official end on June 10, 1999.

Clinton also worked mightily to secure a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a major Clinton administration goal. In the end, however, after many months of diplomacy and personal negotiations with the Palestinian and Israeli leaders, a long-term peace agreement proved to be elusive.

The Clinton White House also faced several foreign-inspired terrorist attacks on U.S. soil and on U.S. interests, the most serious being the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the August 1998 truck bombing of two U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the bombing of USS *Cole* in Yemen in October 2000. The last two incidents were specifically linked to Al Qaeda, and the earlier attack was more than likely tied to the terrorist group. In retaliation for the 1998 embassy attacks, Clinton ordered cruise missile strikes against suspected Al Qaeda posts in Khartoum, Sudan, and in Afghanistan. The strikes were largely ineffective and engendered significant controversy in the United States and abroad. After leaving office, and after the September 11, 2001, attacks by Al Qaeda, Clinton was insistent that his administration was fully aware of the danger that Al Qaeda posed to the United States but that it could not move quickly enough because neither the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was certain beyond all doubt as to Al Qaeda's complicity in the earlier attacks. He claimed that battle plans were already in place for an invasion of Afghanistan and a massive hunt for Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, but the clock on his administration ran out before the plans could be put into motion.

Clinton's second term was also marked by personal scandal and legal problems. Ken Starr, the independent counsel investigating Whitewater, leveled against the president charges of sexual misconduct and lying to a federal grand jury. He did not, however, find evidence of wrongdoing in the Whitewater deal. In September 1998 the U.S. House of Representatives passed two articles of impeachment against the president, but in early 1999 the Senate acquitted Clinton on both counts along party lines. In order to end the Whitewater investigation, Clinton agreed to a five-year suspension of his law license and a \$25,000 fine.

After leaving the presidency, Clinton assisted his wife in her successful senatorial campaign in New York and in her failed bid for the presidency in 2008, opened his own office in Harlem in New York City, and established a presidential library in Little Rock, Arkansas. He has also traveled extensively abroad and raised significant sums of money for charitable causes, including AIDS and, with former president George H. W. Bush, tsunami relief. Clinton also helped form the Clinton Foundation, a global outreach enterprise that has helped millions of people around the world, and wrote his memoirs. During the 2012 presidential election, Clinton campaigned aggressively for President Barack Obama's reelection.

James F. Carroll and Spencer C. Tucker

See also: Blair, Tony; Bosnian War; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United States of America

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Concentration Camps

One of the defining characteristics of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the use of the chilling phrase *etnicko ciscenje*, or ethnic cleansing. The reality of this policy as an aim of the conflict came to public attention most strongly in the establishment of detention camps. Media images of the suffering experienced by thousands of Bosnia's inhabitants served to isolate the Serbs in world opinion and led to the widespread view that only the "traditional" Balkan propensity to violence could explain the cause and nature of the conflict. The camps have thus assumed a symbolic importance that is probably greater than their real significance and have played a substantial role in the propaganda war in the international media.

The overriding impression created by media treatment of the issue is that the camps were operated solely by Bosnian Serbs and run along the lines of the death camps of Nazi Germany. However, there is evidence that all sides in the conflict operated such camps and that there was considerable variation in their management, even among different camps operated by the same side. Thus, a myth has been created that will no doubt play an important role long into the future. There has already been an attempt to rewrite Yugoslav history from that period, with Croatian president Franjo Tudjman's challenge of the previously accepted accounts of the Croatian Ustashe camps such as Jasenovac. We can expect to see further rewriting of history given the paucity of information about the camps of the Bosnian conflict.

According to the incomplete figures available, only a minority of people actually died within the camps. Many more were killed when they were shipped out of the camps to other locations to meet their deaths or when their villages were overrun. What is certain is that the Nazi camps' industrialized, conveyor-belt approach to killing was not a feature of the Bosnian War. Instead, the deaths that occurred were from poor hygiene, starvation, sustained beating, and "sport"

deaths, in which the victims' tormentors practiced sadistic, "imaginative," individualized killings. Furthermore, these camps were not purpose-built but were frequently located in former industrial units, probably the only sites available in most areas. Of the camps featured most often in media coverage, Manjaca was farm owned and operated by the Yugoslav People's Army, Keraterm was a former ceramics factory, and Omarska was an abandoned iron mine. There is evidence that in the Serb-run camps organization and management were chaotic, with different authorities responsible for different camps (Manjaca was controlled by the Bosnian Serb Army and Omarska by the Commune of Prijedor), which led to difficulties and delays when aid agencies and other organizations such as UNHCR attempted to gain access. These delays inevitably led to the impression that the Bosnian Serbs were deliberately restricting access.

The existence of the camps, although known to various international agencies, did not become public knowledge and thus an issue of concern until the summer of 1992. The first person to break the news of their existence was Roy Gutman of New York's *Newsday*, closely followed by the *Guardian*'s Maggie O'Kane and ITN. ITN's coverage of Manjaca flashed around the world and is generally considered to be the reason for the camps' appearance on the international political agenda.

There is considerable evidence that many camps were established, although some were of a very temporary nature. By August 1993, for example, the International Committee of the Red Cross estimated that there were 6,474 inmates in 51 camps. These numbers probably represent only a portion of the total number of inmates and camps at that time, and the complete figures might never be known. The Bosnian Serbs certainly conceived of the camps as fulfilling one of their war aims: the creation of ethnically pure areas. Most of the inmates were civilians, as Croat and Muslim community leaders and soldiers were generally isolated and taken away (the evidence suggests for execution) when Bosnian Serb forces arrived in an area. Imprisoning civilians achieved several aims: ethnic cleansing, hostages for exchange (in one instance 400 Croats for diesel fuel), and the creation of fear, which further enabled ethnic cleansing by encouraging civilians to flee before advancing military forces.

The camps had varying impacts on the various sides and across socioeconomic classes. In the early stages of the war, when the Bosnian Serbs were securing large areas of territory, most of the camps, including Manjaca and Omarska, were run by them. Under intense international pressure, camps that

were known to the media and international agencies were gradually closed and the inmates transferred to holding centers in Croatia. Later stages of the war saw the creation of camps by the Bosniaks and Croats, and relatively little is known of these, as by then media attention had shifted to Sarajevo and the various Muslim enclaves. One Croat-run camp, Mostar, is known to have had conditions as bad as or even worse than those of the Serb camps. Mostar was established by the Ustashe-inclined Croatian Party of Rights at the former Yugoslav People's Army heliport near the town, and inmates were kept in fuel tanks. Many died from the fumes, and a considerable number of people, including women, were murdered for sport by guards stationed there.

Finally, evidence suggests that among the Serbs, captured non-Serb civilians were screened to determine their fate. Those who were highly literate (such as teachers) or who occupied relatively high socioeconomic positions in the area seem to have disappeared (presumably they were executed), and very few from these groups ever made it to the camps. One inmate of Trnopolje camp told Red Cross officials, "Only the working class lived."

Little is really known about the camps of the Bosnian War, and what is known is distorted by often sensationalist media reporting. Much investigative work needs to be done to obtain a more accurate picture of their purposes, roles, and consequences.

Robert Jiggins

See also: Gutman, Roy; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Mejakic, Zeljko; Mladic, Ratko; Omarska; Rape Camps; Vulliamy, Ed

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Croatia

Croatia is a Slavic country located in the mountainous Balkans region of southeastern Europe. By the beginning of World War II, many Croats had become highly nationalistic and had joined separatist movements, the most extreme of which was the Ustashe (singular, Ustasha), which was strongly fascist in ideology. In April 1941 a puppet state, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna drzava Hrvatska*, or NDH), was created by Croat Fascists with Italian Fascist and Nazi supervision. The NDH governed most of modern Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and parts of Serbia. Its leaders implemented a policy of ethnic cleansing. The Ustashe forced thousands of Serbs to convert from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. It also engaged in a campaign of ethnic cleansing against Serbs, Jews, and Roma. Six concentration camps were set up in Croatia along the banks of the Sava River, which is located about 60 miles south of Zagreb. The worst was Jasenovac, where over 100,000 (with some estimates claiming up to 700,000) civilians were murdered. Other camps were Zemun, Sajmiste, Donja Gradina, a women's camp at Stara Gradiska, and a children's camp at Sisak. Sajmiste was run by the Nazis as an extermination camp for Serbian Jews. It is estimated that between 4,000 and 8,000 were killed there. Others were also killed there as well, including Roma and Serbian opponents of the Nazis and the Ustashe.

After World War II, thousands of Ustashe members and other Croat nationalists who were not in favor of the communist regime of Josip Broz Tito were summarily executed. In 1991, the breakup of Yugoslavia soon led to the Serbo-Croatian War (the Homeland War in Croatia). Atrocities began to occur in October of 1991. On October 10th, 75 Croat civilians were massacred in the villages of Lovas and Opatovac in the eastern Croat region of Slavonia by Serb paramilitary units. On October 12th, Croat civilians were massacred at Saborsko.

The killers were members of a Croat Serb militia known as the Militia of the Republic of Serb Krajina. War crimes were committed in the village of Skabrnja by Serbian forces when nearly 100 prisoners of war (POWs) and civilians were killed on or about October 12th.

Between October 16th and 18th, Gospic in the Lika district was the scene of a massacre of civilian Serbs by a Croatian military unit. On October 21st, irregular Croatian Serb forces massacred a group of Croats near the village of Bacin in central Croatia. The Vukovar and Skabrnja massacres took place between November 18 and 21, 1991. More than 250 Croats were killed by the Yugoslav People's Army. Indicted for the murders were Veselin Sljivancanin, Mile Mrksic, and Miroslav Radic.

The Skabrnja massacre occurred on November 18th when Serb paramilitary units captured the village; 25 POWs and over 60 civilians were killed. In December 1991, some 50 Croat civilians were massacred at the village of Vocin by Serb irregular fighters. On June 21, 1992, the Croatian army attacked Serbian units on the Miljevic plateau on the heights above Dalmatia. United Nations (UN) peacekeepers charged afterward that the Croats had committed war crimes in the attack.

Between September 9 and 17, 1993, the Croatian army engaged in Operation MEDAK POCKET, which was a salient around the village of Medak in the Kika region. The area was at that time under the control of the Krajina Serbs who had declared the formation of the Republic of Krajina. The operation ended with a Croat victory, but only after a brief firefight with UN peacekeepers.

Operation STORM began August 4, 1995. It was alleged later to be a crime against humanity because it was an act of ethnic cleansing. The operation was directed against the Krajina Serbs who had occupied the Krajina region since 1578. Over 200,000 people were displaced by the end of the operation. The claim of ethnic cleansing was rejected because it was believed that most Serbs had left by the time the operation began. Croat general Rahim Ademi was nevertheless indicted for crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war. Despite Ademi's surrender to UN authorities he was not tried by the International Tribunal but was remanded to Croatia, where his trial began on June 18, 2007, in Zagreb.

Croatian general Ante Gotovina was charged with responsibility for the killing of over 100 Serbs during their expulsion from Croatia. His trial as of 2007 was joined with those of Ivan Cermak and Mladen Markac, but had been delayed. General Mirko Norac was convicted of the killings at Gospic in 2003,

along with four others. Also convicted of war crimes was paramilitary leader Mirko Graorac in Split County (Zupanijski) Court, April 27, 1996. He was given a 20-year prison sentence for killing and abusing prisoners at a concentration camp near Banja Luka in Bosnia and for the physical and psychological maltreatment and torture of civilians.

Extradited to The Hague was Mladen Naletilic, nicknamed “Tuta.” He was convicted in 2003 of murdering several dozen Krajina Serbs in a covert military operation. A leader of the Krajina Serbs, Milan Martić, was convicted on June 13, 2007, for his part in the shelling of Zagreb in May 1995, and for other crimes against civilian targets. More cases await prosecution as of this writing.

Andrew J. Waskey

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Gotovina, Ante; Montenegro; Serbia; Ten-Day War; Tudjman, Franjo; Ustashe; Yugoslavia

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Croatian War of Independence

The Croatian War of Independence was a four-year conflict (March 31, 1991–November 12, 1995) between Croatian national forces on one side and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serb guerillas within Croatia on the other. The JNA, which was the federal army controlled in Belgrade by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was dominated by Serbs, who historically had clashed with Croats. The conflict was actually both a civil war—fought within Croatia—and a larger war involving both the JNA and, beginning in early 1992, United Nations peacekeeping forces.

In the spring of 1990, Croatian nationalists held free elections in Croatia, with the ultimate goal of declaring independence from Yugoslavia. Within weeks, a parliament was formed, with the nationalist leader Franjo Tudjman as head of the fledgling government. These developments prompted federal leaders in Belgrade to disband all territorial defense forces in the various republics. Although independence fighters in nearby Slovenia had managed to circumvent this order, the Croats did not move quickly enough, and their local defense force was largely disarmed. While fighting in Slovenia lasted a mere 10 days and resulted in uncontested independence, the conflict in Croatia would endure for more than four years and result in many deaths and injuries and much damage.

In December 1990, a popular referendum in Croatia resulted in a strong push for complete independence. On June 25, 1991, Tudman declared Croatia's intent to seek independence, which was formally declared on October 8. Slovenia had also declared independence on June 25, sparking the Ten-Day War. On March 31, 1991, the war in Croatia began when federal forces clashed with Croats in Pakrac. Later, federal forces would begin bombarding Croatian targets along the Adriatic; the Croats retaliated by besieging federal barracks in Croatia. This left federal forces without supplies or food, which compelled them to besiege and/or

bombard civilian areas. After the civilian population had been killed or fled, JNA forces would move in and ransack villages and town for food and supplies.

When the war began, the JNA was far superior to Croat forces in terms of matériel and personnel. It possessed 300 jet aircraft and some 2,000 tanks, although much of this equipment was 30 years old. Croatian forces were small and poorly organized, with the police doing much of the fighting early on. The Croats possessed fewer than two dozen tanks and a few antiquated propeller aircraft. Firearms were in short supply and were similarly antiquated, while ammunition was scarce when the fighting began. In April 1991, ethnic Serbs living in Croatia announced their own breakaway republic within Croatia, known as the Republic of Serbian Krajina (about one-eighth of Croatia's population was Serbian). This they did with the express encouragement of Belgrade and the JNA, with the hope that the Croats could be subdued by both federal forces and a guerilla effort waged by Serbs living in Croatia. Eventually, the Serbs occupied nearly one-third of Croatia's total territory.

The fighting throughout 1991 was brutal, with many civilian casualties and wholesale devastation of Croatian towns, cities, and infrastructure. The combat also resulted in thousands of homeless and displaced people, both Croats and Serbs. Within the Serbian breakaway republic, the Serbs conducted vicious ethnic cleansing, designed to drive out or kill all non-Serbs in the areas they controlled. The conflict quickly became an international concern, with no fewer than 14 cease-fires arranged and promptly broken in 1991 alone. The fighting in Vukovar between August and September 1991 resulted in the deaths of at least 2,000 people, more than 1,100 of whom were civilians. Another 31,000 civilians were forcibly expelled from the city.

Finally, in January 1992, with the war's death toll already approaching 10,000, the United Nations stepped in and brokered a cease-fire. This ended the continual fighting, but not the war, which would rage on and off until late 1995. In February, the first of some 14,000 UN peacekeeping troops arrived in Croatia to enforce the truce. This resulted in the withdrawal of virtually all JNA forces from Croatia; they then moved into Bosnia and Herzegovina, where another war was about to begin. The Serb guerillas and their leaders, however, continued sporadic fighting with Croatian forces. UN troops were unable to stop much of the later fighting. Indeed, in July 1992, Serb rebels bombarded the besieged city of Dubrovnik, causing considerable damage and panic among the civilian population. Meanwhile, Croatia's independence was formalized when it became a member of the United Nations in May 1992.

Sporadic fighting occurred until 1995, at which time the Croats mounted two major offensives designed to defeat the Serb insurgents and retake control of the territory they still held—Operations FLASH and STORM. The Serbs, now on the run, retaliated by shelling Zagreb, the Croatian capital, but that did not deter the Croats. By the late summer of 1995, the Croats had retaken virtually all of the rebel-held territory and expelled more than 100,000 Serbs from Croatia.

The fighting was essentially over by mid-November 1995; the war ended officially on December 14, when Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian officials signed the Dayton Peace Accords in Dayton, Ohio. Despite the widespread suffering, the Croats emerged from the conflict entirely victorious. They preserved their independence and ensured the territorial integrity of their nation. Those goals came with a very high price, however. At least 25 percent of the nation's economy was destroyed, and some US\$37 billion of damage was wrought on Croatia's infrastructure and housing. The Croats reported nearly 16,000 people killed—8,147 soldiers, 6,605 civilians, and 1,218 missing, presumed dead. Some 250,000 Croats were displaced. The Serbs suffered nearly 7,950 dead—5,600 soldiers and 2,344 civilians. There were between 250,000 and 300,000 Serbs displaced during the fighting.

In the years after the war, both Serbian and Croatian leaders involved in the fighting came under scrutiny by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for their role in the conflict. In 2007, the ICTY found Milan Martić, a leader of the Serbia rebels in Croatia, guilty of colluding with Slobodan Milošević and other Serbs to establish a “unified Serbia state.” During 2008–2012, three Croatian generals were tried at the ICTY for crimes against humanity, but they were ultimately acquitted.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Hadžić, Goran; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milošević, Slobodan; Ten-Day War; Tuđman, Franjo; Vukovar

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D

Dayton Peace Accords

The Dayton Peace Accords was a treaty that brought peace between the Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs following the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. On November 21, 1995, after more than three years of war in Bosnia, President Bill Clinton helped the leaders of these states negotiate a peace treaty. With estimates of 100,000 to 400,000 people dead and the country of Bosnia in ruins, the process of nation building under the auspices of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began. Bringing together 30,000 troops from 29 nations, the peacekeeping forces helped implement the provisions of the Dayton Peace Accords.

The Bosnian War began on April 6, 1992. Three political parties emerged from the first Bosnian democratic election in 1990, with each party representing a major ethnic group. These parties, representing the Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Croats, formed an uneasy coalition to maintain state unity. When Bosnia declared independence in April 1992, the Yugoslav People's Army surrounded Bosnia and began its military campaign.



From left, Slobodan Milosevic, Alija Izetbegovic, and Franjo Tudjman reach a settlement that saw an end to the fighting in Bosnia, signed in

Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995. The three leaders found an uneasy accommodation that was confirmed in a ratification ceremony in Paris a month later. (John Rutherford/AFP/Getty Images)

Three years later, following involvement by Croatian, Bosniak, and Serbian forces, the three groups met with President Bill Clinton in Dayton, Ohio, to reach a peace agreement. The Dayton Peace Accords divided Bosnia into the separate entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and the Republika Srpska (RS). Further requirements maintained the capital city of Sarajevo, established a three-part government, required democratic elections, assured refugees a right of return, excluded war criminals from political life, and mandated an international peacekeeping force.

Following the agreement, U.S. and NATO forces took responsibility for the enforcement and completion of the Accords' provisions. Heavy bombardment by Serbian forces during the war destroyed much of the infrastructure of Sarajevo and the surrounding countryside. Peacekeeping forces oversaw the reconstruction of the country's vital systems and protected citizens from further violence. In 1996, 29 nations contributed to the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, creating a force 30,000 members strong. Efforts continue into the present to strengthen the stability and peace of the Balkan region and Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Clinton, Bill; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United Nations

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Del Ponte, Carla

Carla Del Ponte is an international criminal lawyer, best known for her role as chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Born on February 9, 1947, in Lugano, Switzerland, she studied law in Bern, Geneva, and the United Kingdom, obtaining her legal qualification in 1972. After completing her studies, Del Ponte joined a private law firm in Lugano, leaving in 1975 to set up her own practice as a local lawyer. In 1981 she was appointed as a public prosecutor in Lugano, prosecuting cases of fraud, drug trafficking, money laundering, arms dealing, terrorism, and espionage. She also antagonized the Italian mafia, which made an assassination attempt on her life in 1992. As a result, Del Ponte became the first public figure in Switzerland to require round-the-clock protection and an armor-plated car.

In 1994 Del Ponte became attorney general for Switzerland, and in 1999 was appointed as chief prosecutor at the ICTY in The Hague, replacing Louise Arbour.

Over the next few years, she prosecuted numerous cases of those accused of crimes committed during the Balkan wars of the 1990s. Her greatest coup as prosecutor was the extradition of the former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic from Serbia to The Hague in 2001. His death in custody in 2006 robbed Del Ponte and the ICTY of a conviction, and for this she came under criticism for having taken too long to try him. While his death was a matter for deep regret, Del Ponte defended the prosecution's painstaking construction of the case, arguing that anything less would have been a disservice to his victims.

In 2003 she was relieved of her responsibility as prosecutor for the ICTR in order to focus exclusively on prosecutions for the former Yugoslavia. Renowned for her stubbornness in pursuing justice, Del Ponte was known as one who did not favor one side or the other when bringing cases to the ICTY. Because of her

dogged determination and concern with the victims of genocide, her detractors often labeled her with epithets: at different times she was known as “the whore,” “the new Gestapo,” “the unguided missile,” and “the personification of stubbornness.” In her own way, she took some measure of pride in such labels, as they showed that she was being effective as chief prosecutor. For Del Ponte, it did not matter whether an alleged criminal was Serb, Croatian, Bosnian, or Kosovar Albanian; she was more interested in issues of justice than of politics. That said, the majority of those against whom a case was brought while she was prosecutor were Serbs. For this she was condemned by many Serbs for having transformed the ICTY into what they considered to be an anti-Serb tribunal.

Some critics, pondering Del Ponte’s overall record, have put forth the view that her dogged pursuit of Milosevic meant that other Serbs were missed in the hunt for those most responsible for crimes against humanity and war crimes. By focusing on that investigation, it is argued, the general public and the ICTY itself were deprived of the prosecution of a number of other top leaders who could also have been apprehended. With so much placed at Milosevic’s feet, the prosecution sought to conduct a super trial of sorts, which would have put the blame on him for everything nefarious that took place during all the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s. He died, however, before he could be brought to trial.

Although Del Ponte successfully prosecuted a number of high-profile cases at the ICTY, her three most important actions did not bear any results during her tenure. One of them, against Milosevic, will never be resolved owing to his death in 2006. Two other cases, against former president of Republika Srpska Radovan Karadzic and former Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic, are still proceeding as of this writing. Because of these misses, Del Ponte has concluded that her tenure as chief prosecutor was itself a failure, or at least, not the success she hoped it would be. Although the vast majority of those indicted were brought to trial, those who were the most prominent did not meet justice during her time in The Hague.

Overall, however, Del Ponte’s standing at the ICTY was an important one, sending a clear message to the perpetrators of grave human rights abuses that they would not be safe from prosecution, as the culture of impunity she fought so hard to overturn was finally challenged through her dogged pursuit of justice. Some critics have argued that more suspects could, and should, have been tried during her term as chief prosecutor; others disagree, saying that Del Ponte’s persistence kept the war crimes issue high on the international agenda. From the time she took office, Del Ponte and her investigative team brought a total of 91

suspects into custody. Under Del Ponte the prosecution at the ICTY proved beyond reasonable doubt that genocide was committed in Srebrenica, that rape was used as an instrument of terror and should be considered a crime against humanity, and that the crimes against civilians during the siege of Sarajevo merit the maximum sentences.

On January 30, 2007, Carla Del Ponte announced her intention to resign as chief prosecutor at the ICTY by the end of the year, stating it was “time to return to normal life.” She stayed in the role until January 1, 2008, when she was succeeded by the Belgian lawyer Serge Brammertz. In January 2008 she became Switzerland’s ambassador to Argentina, a position she held until early 2011.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Arbour, Louise; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Milosevic, Slobodan; Mladic, Ratko

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Denial of the Bosnian Genocide

The Bosnian genocide is no exception to claims by denialists. The central arguments of the denialist claims of genocide on the part of the Serbs regarding Bosnians appear to fall into two specific areas: (1) whether (or not) the Serbian agenda was in fact genocidal in its military drive to create a "Greater Serbia" in the image of the former Yugoslavia, necessitating North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military intervention including air strikes, and (2) whether (or not) the murders of approximately 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica, which the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) of 400 Dutch peacekeepers did nothing to prevent, was itself genocide. Additionally, sharing in this "critique of genocide" was the failure of the United Nations, NATO, and the Western democracies, primarily the United States, to evenhandedly address both Serbia and Bosnia and the arguably slanted media coverage by the Western media.

Those who make these claims are not Serbians, but Westerners, and include Americans Noam Chomsky, Philip Corwin, Edward Herman, Stephen Karganovic, Michael Parenti, Briton Diana Johnstone, Canadian Lewis MacKenzie, German Thomas Deichmann, and others. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the so-called Serbian Historical Project based in The Hague, Netherlands, and founded by Cleveland, Ohio, attorney Stephen (Stefan) Karganovic and funded by Republika Srpska to the tune of more than US\$1,100,000 between 2008 and 2012. Also noteworthy, published in 2011 and available online, is *The Srebrenica Massacre: Evidence, Context, Politics*. Edited by Edward S. Herman with a foreword by Phillip Corwin, it includes contributions by George Bogdanovich, Tim Fenton, Jonathan Rooper, George Szamuely, Michael Mandel, and Philip Hammond, with such provocative and indicative titles as "The Numbers Game," "Securing Verdicts: The Misuse of

Witness Evidence at the Hague,” and “UN Report on Srebrenica: A Distorted Picture of Events.”

Prominent Serbians have also participated in these denials. These include the current (as of this writing) president of Serbia Tomislav Nikolic, and the president of the Republika Srpska Milorad Dodik. The refutational proof for the denialists, however, was the founding of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in 1993, established by UN Resolution 827 and based in The Hague, Netherlands. Since its founding, more than 150 individuals have been indicted for genocidal crimes and more than 125 brought to trial, including the president of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, who died in prison before a final verdict could be rendered; Serbian nationalist leader Momcilo Krajisnik; former president of the Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic; and Republika Srpska general Ratko Mladic.

The case of Srebrenica is particularly poignant, despite the Serbian claim that it was not genocide and whether one describes it as a case of “ethnic cleansing” or a “massacre.” A paramilitary unit of Serbia known as the Scorpions, together with members of the Army of the Republika Srpska under the leadership of Mladic, removed from Srebrenica approximately 8,000 men and boys, some of whom were Bosnian military, from the area known as a “safe enclave/area” under the supposed protection of UNPROFOR Dutch troops, only to be murdered en masse. To date, almost 7,000 victims have been identified via DNA testing, and more than 5,000 buried in the Memorial Center at Potocari.

The Serbian military assault began on July 6, 1995, and concluded on July 11. It has been estimated that prior to the assault, approximately 20,000–25,000 Bosniaks were gathered together in Srebrenica. On the morning of the 12th, the removals began by buses heading north. Of those remaining, numerous instances of rape and torture of women have also been both witnessed and recorded. It has also been estimated that approximately 25,000 women were deported. There have also been reports by survivors of the use of chemical weapons against them as they fled. Subsequent to the Srebrenica genocide until the end of the conflict, numerous other instances of the murders of Bosniak men, women, and children throughout the region took place, all implemented by Serbian forces. The task of identifying the remains found in mass graves continues unabated.

Putting to rest any false claims of genocide denial is the important fact that a Serbian commission in 1995 acknowledged that the Srebrenica Massacre was a planned military action (though the denialists argue that this report was both coerced and falsified). In 2004, and again in 2010, the Serbian government

publicly acknowledged the mass killing (though denialists have subsequently argued that these public expressions were equally coerced).

Steven Leonard Jacobs

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Mladic, Ratko; Scorpions; Serbia; Srebrenica Massacre

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Draskovic, Vuk

Vuk Draskovic is a writer and former Yugoslav and Serbian politician, who served as deputy prime minister of Yugoslavia/Serbia between January 18 and April 28, 1999, and minister of foreign affairs between March 3, 2004, and May 15, 2007. He is best known as one of the key intellectual movers behind the resurgence of Serbian nationalism in the 1980s and 1990s.

Draskovic was born on November 29, 1946, in the village of Meda, in Zitiste, Serbia, and was the eldest child in a family of six children. He studied law at the University of Belgrade, and after graduation worked as a journalist for several years, including a lengthy period with Tanjug, the Yugoslav national news agency.

In 1980 he moved away from journalism in order to devote his time to literary writing. His novels *The Judge*, *The Knife*, *Prayer*, *The Russian Consul*, and *The Night of the General* were best sellers, both in Yugoslavia and overseas, and his works were translated into English, French, Russian, Greek, Roumanian, and Czech, among other languages. The nationalistic nature of his writing was controversial within communist Yugoslavia, and Draskovic was considered a dissident by many in the Yugoslav Communist Party hierarchy, notwithstanding his own long-standing party membership. His novel *Noz (The Knife)*, in particular, created a furor when it was published in 1982, propelling Draskovic into the literary limelight. This, together with his other novels, tackled difficult themes, challenged communist revisionist history, and promoted a radical nationalist agenda that spoke violently of a reckoning between Serbs and Muslims in Yugoslavia at some time in the future.

Together with Mirko Jovic—who later led the White Eagles militia during the Bosnian War—and Vojislav Seselj, Draskovic founded the Serbian National Renewal party (*Srpska narodna obnova*, or SNO) in 1989. However, after a year together the party split into three separate groupings; Jovic stayed with the SNO, Seselj formed the Serbian Radical Party (*Srpska radikalna stranka*, or SRS), and Draskovic formed the Serbian Renewal Movement (*Srpski pokret obnove*, or SPO), a Serb promonarchist party. Each vied with the other for recognition as being more conservative and nationalistic than the others, and Draskovic and Seselj soon became bitter political opponents.

Draskovic also became a leading opponent of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, and organized street protests and mass demonstrations against his regime in Belgrade on March 9, 1991. Over time, Draskovic built a reputation as a fierce and combative opposition leader, but in his desire for political power—and predominance among the varied opposition leaders—he made a number of deals with the Milosevic regime while at the same time remaining ostensibly committed to the idea of fundamental democratic change. His critics charged him with political opportunism, and with alternating between opposition and cooperation, but he remained consistent in his general opposition to Milosevic. In 1993 he was detained and harassed by the police after organizing further public demonstrations, was savagely beaten, and thrown into a high-security prison. Only a hunger strike, pressure from other opposition parties, and outrage expressed by the international community forced the Serbian regime to arrange his release.

Draskovic's nationalism took a number of forms. Not only did he seek the rehabilitation of Serbian Chetniks and make numerous consciousness-raising speeches; he also put his beliefs into concrete form as he led the SPO into organizing a paramilitary unit called the Serbian Guard. He claimed his establishment of this force was a move to prompt Milosevic to form a specifically Serb military presence outside of the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA), but he later distanced himself from the Guard after it began committing atrocities in Croatia and elsewhere. Throughout this time his compelling oratory and highly emotive rhetoric brought a radical nationalist dimension to Serbian politics rarely matched beforehand, advocating the Greater Serbia idea more extensively than Milosevic and many of those around him.

Despite this, Draskovic also possessed tendencies that were pro-Western and antiwar. He insisted that Serbia should develop a more democratic style of

government, seek to move back into a Western alliance system, and try to keep the former Yugoslavia together, albeit in a new power-sharing arrangement with the Croats. On the other hand, his preference was always to reject any notions of separatism or the partition of Serbian territory.

After the Bosnian War ended in 1995, Draskovic remained in politics, and in 1996 joined in an alliance with the Democratic Party of Zoran Djindic and the Civic Alliance of Serbia under Vesna Pesic, which collectively was known as the Zajedno (“Together”) grouping. It achieved some success in local elections later that year, but in 1997 it split and Draskovic’s SPO again stood alone. In January 1998, in what some saw as a surprise move, the SPO was invited to form a coalition with Milosevic’s Socialist Party of Serbia. This was brought about in large part in the hope that Draskovic could use his influence in the West to ease tensions between Serbia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) over Kosovo. Consequently, in early 1999, Draskovic became the deputy prime minister of what was left of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During the Kosovo War of early 1999 he split with Milosevic, however, and on April 28, 1999, he broke the coalition altogether and returned to the ranks of the opposition.

Unsuccessful attempts were then made to assassinate Draskovic on October 3, 1999, and June 15, 2000. His political career waned over the next few years, though the SPO was still active throughout the 2000s despite its lack of success and some bad strategic maneuvering that cost it at successive polls. In late 2003 Draskovic entered his party into a pre-election coalition with another party, New Serbia, in time for parliamentary elections. Though enjoying only limited success, it was enough to enable the coalition to enter into a broader grouping of parties that formed a minority government. Draskovic was named foreign minister in the new administration, a position he held until May 2007.

Vuk Draskovic is arguably Serbia’s best-known novelist and is viewed by many Serbs as a charismatic and larger-than-life figure. He remains controversial, a political survivor who can read the changing winds of opinion astutely. In August 2010, in what some viewed as the act of a supreme political opportunism—and which others outside of Serbia applauded as an act of statesmanship—Draskovic argued in favor of changing Serbia’s 2006 constitution so as to remove references to Kosovo as part of Serbia in light of the changed realities brought about by that province’s unilateral declaration of independence on February 17, 2008. Despite the fact that such recognition would reduce Serbia in size, his view was that the loss of Kosovo was an

accomplished fact that was unlikely to be overturned, and that this status should be recognized so that Serbia could move ahead to a new, post-Milosevic future.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Milosevic, Slobodan; Serbia; Seselj, Vojislav; Yugoslavia

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Drina Corps

The Drina Corps was one of six geographically based corps of the Army of the Republika Srpska (VRS) during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War. It was principally responsible for the July 11–13 Srebrenica genocide, in which as many as 8,000 Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) men and boys were systematically slaughtered.

Numbering some 15,000 men at its peak deployment, the Drina Corps was created on November 1, 1992, under the command of General Milenko Zivanovic; he commanded the unit until early July 1995, at which time General Radislav Krstic took charge. The entirety of the VRS was under the control of Radovan Karadzic, president of Republika Srpska. The Drina Corps was subdivided into 13 geographically based brigades, each under the command of a brigadier general. Two of those 13 brigades were responsible for Srebrenica and the surrounding areas—the Zvornik and Bratunac brigades.



Colonel Vidoje Blagojevic, a commander of the Drina Corps, during his trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in 2001. The Drina Corps was a military unit of the Army of Republika Srpska, best remembered as being responsible for the genocidal massacre at Srebrenica in July 1995. (AP Photo/Jerry Lampen)

In April 1993, in an effort to halt ethnic cleansing, the United Nations Security Council declared Srebrenica to be a “safe haven,” where persecuted civilian minorities could safely seek refuge. The city was then supposedly secured by peacekeeping troops under the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). In July 1995, Srebrenica was being protected by 1,170 Dutch troops, who were part of UNPROFOR. On July 10, the Zvornik and Bratunac brigades entered the city to capture it; the Dutch forces, which were not well trained or equipped for their mission, put up a tepid and ineffectual defense. The following day, the Drina brigades, with help from a local Serb militia group, unleashed a grisly massacre of at least 8,000 unarmed Muslim civilians, chiefly men and young boys. The events at Srebrenica shocked the international community, and the UN secretary-general called the killings Europe’s worst massacre since World War II.

The Srebrenica genocide was ordered by Mladic, with Karadzic’s authorization, and carried out by Krstic. Several individuals associated with the massacre have since been arrested, indicted, and/or convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. Krstic was the first Serbian official to be brought up on such charges. Arrested in December 1998, he was tried and convicted of genocide in 2001. On appeal in 2004, his charge was reduced to being an accomplice to genocide, and his sentence was reduced from 46 years in prison to 35 years.

General Zdravko Tolimir, who was also involved in the events at Srebrenica, was arrested in May 2007 and placed on trial by the ICTY. He was found guilty of war crimes in December 2012. Karadzic was arrested in July 2007 on a litany of charges, including some related to the Srebrenica tragedy. His trial by the ICTY has progressed in fits and starts however, and as of this writing, the proceedings are ongoing. Zivanovic has thus far not been indicted for Srebrenica, but he has been subpoenaed to testify before the ICTY.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosnian Safe Areas; Bosnian War; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Krstic, Radislav; Mladic, Ratko; Republika Srpska; Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations Protection Force; Zivanovic, Milenko

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Erdemovic, Drazen

Drazen Erdemovic is an ethnic Bosnian Croat born in Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, on November 25, 1971, and the first person to be convicted as a war criminal in an international tribunal since the end of World War II. He was also the first defendant at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to plead guilty to the charges brought against him.

Erdemovic had a mixed record of military service prior to his arrest. He first fought in the Croatian Army in 1991 during the Siege of Vukovar, before returning to Bosnia. When the Bosnian War broke out in April 1992, he joined the Bosnian army and then deserted because of a dispute over a food ration. He moved into the Croatian Defense Council (*Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*, or HVO), the army of the self-proclaimed Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia during the Bosnian War, but was arrested for illegal activities, among which was clandestinely helping Serbs to cross demarcation lines between the Croatian and Serb occupation zones. He managed to escape and find refuge in a Bosnian Serb camp. There, he enlisted in the Army of Republika Srpska (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, or VRS) and joined the 10th Sabotage Detachment.

Erdemovic's unit saw close-quarter action in the Serb assault on the eastern Bosnian city of Srebrenica in July 1995, and on July 16 it was located at a collective farm in Pilica, north of the city. The VRS had begun sending male Bosniaks away from Srebrenica to various locations for execution after having taken the city on July 11, and Pilica was one such place. There, the unit met a convoy of buses arriving from Srebrenica filled with Bosnian Muslim men and boys of between approximately 17 and 60 years of age—all civilians—who had earlier surrendered to the Serb occupiers. Erdemovic's unit led them away in groups of 10 and executed them in a controlled orgy of mass killing. By the end of the process, some 1,200 Bosnian Muslims had been murdered. Erdemovic later admitted to killing about 70 of the victims himself, even though he had at first allegedly resisted the order to commit these murders. It was later revealed in evidence that he was ordered to shoot the men or he would himself be killed.

After this, Erdemovic had problems aligning his own sense of morality with what he had done, and threatened to break ranks with his comrades and divulge

what the 10th Sabotage Unit had done at Srebrenica. In response, one member of his unit, Stanko Savanovic, tried to silence Erdemovic by shooting him. Although badly wounded, in early 1996 Erdemovic managed to confess on camera about what had happened at Srebrenica. On March 2, 1996, he was arrested by the Yugoslav police and handed over to the ICTY by Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic on March 30, 1996.

Erdemovic was indicted on May 29, 1996, and appeared in court two days later. He pleaded guilty to the two counts for which he had been indicted, war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was the first person to enter a guilty plea at the tribunal, but sought some form of allowance for the fact that he had been intimidated into performing the acts for which he was on trial. According to the Nuremberg Principles of 1950, a set of precepts adopted by the United Nations International Law Commission after World War II, every person is responsible for his or her own actions, and that, as a result, the defense of “following superior orders” is not a valid or legitimate defense provided a moral choice was available to the person committing the criminal act. In Erdemovic’s case, this moral choice was not available, and the trial thus saw the defense of duress. As the trial proceeded, this was recognized, though the tribunal did not consider him totally absolved of all guilt. On November 29, 1996, he was sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment.

On December 23, 1996, he appealed, based on the assertion that his original guilty plea was not properly informed, after which he was given the chance to plead in a new case. The appeals chamber allowed the appeal, and on October 7, 1997, permitted a new trial to take place. On this occasion, the prosecutor withdrew the count of crimes against humanity. On January 14, 1998, Erdemovic pleaded guilty to the sole charge of violations of the laws and customs of war in that he participated in the murder of the Bosniaks at Srebrenica.

On March 5, 1998, he was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment and transferred to Norway to serve out his sentence. Credit was given for time served since March 28, 1996, and on August 13, 1999, he was granted early release. Upon serving his sentence, Erdemovic entered the ICTY’s witness protection program and testified at the trial of Milosevic. Erdemovic was the first accused appearing before the ICTY to plead guilty to the crimes alleged against him, and the first against whom the ICTY handed down a sentence. In his case, in November 1996, he claimed mitigating circumstances, which were later repeated in his appeal, namely, his young age when the crimes took place, his remorse,

his subordinate status as a private soldier, the current absence of any dangerous character traits, the amenable nature of his personality, and the fact that, as a Bosnian Croat, he had been told by his Serb officers that if he did not kill Muslims he would himself be killed. In the final judgment on Erdemovic on March 5, 1998, these were accepted as mitigating circumstances affecting his behavior at Srebrenica. The chamber upheld his appeal on these grounds, and he was released from prison in August 2000 after completing his sentence.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Srebrenica Massacre

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Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia

Between 1991 and 1995, Yugoslavia went from a peaceful, multiethnic nation to a dismembered region wracked by civil war that rapidly degenerated into reciprocal atrocities, genocidal massacres, and ultimately actual genocide. From its formation in 1945 until its violent dissolution in 1991, Yugoslavia was among the most diverse nations of Europe, consisting of several national and ethnic groups, of which Serbs (36 percent), Croats (19.8 percent), Muslims (8.9 percent), Slovenes (7.8 percent), and Albanians (7.7 percent) were the most numerous. It was divided into six semiautonomous republics, each of which varied greatly with respect to ethnic composition.

There was a great deal of genocidal violence in the region during World War II. However, despite that bloody legacy, following the war, the vast majority of people in Yugoslavia coexisted in peace, regardless of their religion or ethnic origin. Indeed, in 1991, more than 20 percent of the population included ethnically mixed families, and in some cities like Sarajevo, the intermarriage rate was nearly 50 percent.

During the Cold War decades of the 1960s and 1970s, Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, had enjoyed more personal freedoms and a higher economic standard of living than any other communist country. However, Tito's death in 1980 created a political leadership vacuum which, combined with declining economic conditions during the rest of decade, created tensions and anxieties among the population that were exploited by nationalist politicians like Slobodan Milosevic, a Serb, and Franjo Tudjman, a Croat. By November 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall signaled the end of the Cold War. Shortly thereafter, the Republic of Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, Croatia was moving rapidly toward independence, and Serb minorities in Croatia and Bosnia were worrying about their futures in a disunited Yugoslavia, particularly in areas where Serbs had been slaughtered by Croats during World War II.

The social and political tensions worsened during 1990 as militant Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia obtained hundreds of thousands of guns; the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which had been a force for federal unity, dissolved in chaos; free elections in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia reinforced nationalistic parties favoring secession; the Yugoslav national army intervened to disarm territorial defense forces in Slovenia and Croatia; and Serbs in Croatia began a campaign of terrorism, blockades of roads and railways, and armed confrontation with authorities.

In the years and months before the outbreak of war, as well as during the war itself, both Milosevic and Tudjman exploited aspects of the World War II genocide for political purposes, particularly through the use of television. They were assisted by academics and other members of the intelligentsia who helped confer upon the nationalistic ideology the patina of scholarly legitimacy.

Lethal conflict erupted in 1991. In late February, Serbs in Croatia declared their independence from Croatia. During March, Serbs seized control of the police station in the Croatian town of Pakrac, Croatian police used force in the attempt to free it, and the Yugoslav army intervened to restore peace. Also in early March, a major demonstration in Belgrade against Milosevic was crushed by the Serbian police and Yugoslav military. On the last day of March, the first deaths occurred in a clash between Croatian Serbs and Croatian police in the Plitvice National Park, which is south of Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. On June 25, both Croatia and Slovenia declared independence from Yugoslavia. Two days later, the Yugoslav army began the unsuccessful Ten-Day War attempting to thwart Slovene secession. In August, the Croatian town of Kijevo was leveled by a 12-hour bombardment by Serbs, and the Croatian city of Vukovar was attacked by the Yugoslav army. By the autumn of 1991, massacres of civilians had been committed by both Serb and Croatian forces, leading Norman Cigar, the author of *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing,"* to refer to the war in Croatia as a "dress rehearsal to genocide" in Bosnia. On November 18, Vukovar fell after months of fighting and more than 2,000 deaths. The city itself was largely demolished by heavy artillery, mortars, and assault from the air. In early December, the Croatian coastal city of Dubrovnik was savagely shelled by the Yugoslav army. In January 1992, Cyrus Vance, as a United Nations mediator, negotiated a cease-fire in Croatia, and by early March more than 12,000 UN peacekeeping forces had begun to maintain the cease-fire in Croatia. The Croatian Serbs retained control of approximately one-third of the nation.

War and genocide spread to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. In January, the Bosnian Serbs declared their own state, under the leadership of Radovan Karadzic, and at the end of March, a referendum in Bosnia, boycotted by Serbs, voted for independence from Yugoslavia. On April 5, the fighting in Sarajevo began. Also in April, Bosnian Serbs, aided by paramilitary units from Serbia, began a carefully planned campaign in which they systematically forced the removal of Bosnian Muslims from towns and villages throughout eastern and northern Bosnia. There were also many instances of genocidal massacres of Muslims by Serbs. The Serbs controlled more than two-thirds of Bosnia by the end of June.

This purposeful nationalistic campaign to “cleanse” an area of an unwanted “outsider” ethnic group earned a new name: ethnic cleansing. The world was shocked at the appearance of such large-scale genocidal persecution in Europe for the first time since World War II. In July and August, journalists exposed a system of brutal concentration camps run by Serbs in which Muslims and others were tortured and murdered. Pictures of gaunt, starved, and beaten prisoners behind the barbed wire of concentration camps evoked haunting memories of the victims of Auschwitz and other Nazi concentration camps. Indeed, lengthy discussions and debates ensued as to whether the more limited scale of genocidal massacres (while many women were being subjected to systematic rape but not necessarily being murdered) largely of males between the ages of 20 and 60 could be compared to the Holocaust, which saw the virtual *total* extermination of the Jews. However, although analysts resolved to express the differences between the ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia and the atrocities of the Holocaust, it became clear that genocide was taking place, and the modern Western world was humiliated, shocked, and haunted by the return of genocide to Europe.

In October, cooperation between Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian government broke down, and Bosnian Croat forces brutally attacked the towns of Prozor and Novi Travnik. By the end of 1992, nearly 2 million Bosnians had been displaced from their homes by the war. The conflict between the Bosnian government and Bosnian Croats intensified in 1993 as fighting continued between Bosnian and Bosnian Serb forces as well as between Croatian and Croatian Serb forces. In January, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman ordered an offensive against three positions held by Croatian Serbs. Also in January, Bosnian forces attacked Serb villages near Srebrenica, killing Serb civilians and burning their homes. During the spring and summer, both Bosnian and Bosnian

Croat forces perpetrated numerous massacres in towns and villages they conquered. In Ahmici, for example, more than 170 Muslims were massacred by Croats, and Muslim soldiers committed atrocities against Croat civilians in areas near Vitez and Travnik. The Croats set up concentration camps in which Muslims were abused and killed in the vicinity of the city of Mostar, much of which was destroyed, including the famous Old Bridge, which fell on November 9, 1993.

In February 1994, the world was shocked by a Serb artillery attack on a marketplace in Sarajevo that killed 69 people and injured more than 200. More pressure was put on the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their artillery from the mountains surrounding Sarajevo, or else face North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air strikes. In March, after months of negotiations and pressure from the United States, Croatia and Bosnia ceased their hostilities and formed a federation. Serb assaults in April on the Bosnian town of Gorazde prompted NATO air strikes, to which the Serbs retaliated by taking 150 UN personnel as hostages. After more NATO strikes, the Serbs eventually released the hostages. In August, after the Serbs rejected a peace plan put forward by the Contact Group of five nations, Milosevic announced that the border between Serbia and Serb-controlled Bosnia would be closed to military transports. Following this, the Serbs renewed their campaign of ethnic cleansing in the territories they controlled. In December, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter arranged a temporary cease-fire that lasted in most places until April 1995.

In May 1995, Croatian forces crossed the UN cease-fire line and attacked Serb-held Western Slavonia, forcing 18,000 Serbs to flee. The Croatian Serbs retaliated by hitting Zagreb with artillery, killing 6 people and wounding nearly 200. On May 25, Serbs fired a shell into the "safe area" of Tuzla, killing 71 people. The next day, NATO warplanes attacked Serb military targets, and the Serbs responded by once again taking UN peacekeepers as hostages. On July 11, Serb forces overran the safe area of Srebrenica and slaughtered several thousand Muslim men in the single biggest massacre in Europe since the Holocaust. In August, crossing the UN cease-fire line, the Croatian army launched Operation STORM to retake the Serb-controlled area around Knin, causing more than 150,000 Serbs to flee their homes. On August 28, Serb shells killed 37 people in a Sarajevo market, prompting NATO air strikes and intensified U.S. efforts to bring the conflict to a stop. In November, the leaders of Serbia (representing the Bosnian Serbs), Croatia, and Bosnia met for proximity talks in Dayton, Ohio, resulting, in December, in the Dayton Peace Agreement, which divided Bosnia

into two “entities”—the Muslim-Croat Federation, which controlled 51 percent of the territory, and the Bosnian Serb entity, which controlled 49 percent. The Dayton Agreement also established a NATO Implementation Force to enforce the cease-fire.

The UN International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia initially indicted only Bosnian Serbs on charges of genocide, including Radovan Karadzic, the former president, and General Ratko Mladic, who commanded the Bosnian Serb military forces during the war. Both were indicted twice by the tribunal. The first indictment, on July 25, 1995, accused them of responsibility for a system of detention centers in which Muslim and Croat prisoners were tortured and killed. They were also accused of the rounding up of leaders of Muslim and Croat political groups and the murder of many, the forcible deportation of civilians, the shelling and sniping of civilians in Sarajevo and Tuzla, the widespread plunder and destruction of victims’ property, and the systematic destruction of mosques and Catholic churches. The second indictment, on November 16, 1995, charged them with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, because of their superior authority over—and command responsibility for—the Srebrenica genocide in July 1995. The UN tribunal later indicted a number of Croats.

As of early 2013, the UN tribunal had indicted 161 individuals on various charges in connection with the wars in the former Yugoslavia, with 126 cases completed. Of the 161 indicted individuals, 94 were Serbs, 29 were Croats, 9 were Albanians, 9 were Bosniaks, 2 were Macedonians, and 2 were Montenegrins. Those remaining were either of undetermined ethnicity or saw the charges against them dropped. Pertaining to the Bosnian War alone, the tribunal has convicted 45 Serbs, 12 Croats, and 4 Bosniaks. Mladic was extradited to The Hague in 2011, and his trial commenced in May 2012. It is ongoing as of this writing. Karadzic was finally arrested in 2008 and extradited to The Hague; after a number of interruptions and delays, his trial also remains ongoing. Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic was indicted on charges related to the war in Bosnia. His trial began in February 2002, and was in process when he died of a sudden heart attack in March 2006. In 2007, the court cleared Serbian leaders of having had a direct hand in the genocide that occurred during the Bosnian War, but maintained that Milosevic and others were certainly aware that atrocities would occur and would continue to occur.

Beginning in December 1995, the presence of NATO soldiers maintained the peace in Bosnia, and thousands of workers with nongovernmental organizations

flooded the region to help rebuild the shattered infrastructure. In 2004, the European Union Force replaced the NATO troops, and as of late 2012 there were about 900 troops in the region. This was down dramatically from the peak of deployment, which included some 60,000 troops, including reservists.

Recent figures indicate that between 100,000 and 150,000 civilians died during the Bosnian War, many of them victims of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Other estimates claim that as many as 200,000 died. At least 70 percent of the casualties were Muslims.

Eric Markusen

See also: Bosnian War; Concentration Camps; Dayton Peace Accords; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre; Tudjman, Franjo; Tuzla; Visegrad; Zepa

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Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo

Ethnic cleansing in Kosovo occurred during the 1998–1999 conflict between Serb forces, under the command of Slobodan Milosevic, and Kosovar Albanians in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo. The vast majority of this genocidal activity, however, unfolded between March and June 1999, at which time the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was involved in a massive aerial bombardment campaign against Serb-held positions, code-named Operation ALLIED FORCE. Ethnic cleansing, a term first used extensively during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War, soon became a misused synonym for genocide. The pattern of ethnic cleansing had therefore already been established prior to the Kosovo War. It typically began through the intimidation and terrorization of the group that was to be killed and/or forcibly relocated. This terror usually manifested itself in mass rapes, beatings, torture, mutilations, and killings, which were intended to force victims from their homes. After a given area had been "cleansed" of the unwanted population, the perpetrators would move their own people into the vacated areas, permitting them to claim a village, town, city, or region as their own.

The Kosovo War began in earnest in February 1998 when attacks against Serb police and security forces by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) invited retaliation by Serb forces and the military of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, under Milosevic. Although both sides in the conflict were perpetrating atrocities against the other, including civilians, Milosevic's forces, which were more numerous and better armed, gradually accelerated the violence. This encompassed ethnic cleansing on what was still a somewhat limited scale, but the conflict was creating a dire humanitarian emergency as thousands of Albanian Kosovars fled their homes. Many seeking refuge in adjacent areas were also being attacked. Meanwhile, Serbian police, paramilitary units, and Yugoslav army troops ratcheted up the violence in late 1998 and early 1999.

On January 15, 1999, Serb-allied forces murdered 45 civilian Albanian Kosovars at Racak, mutilated many of the bodies, and then tried to cover up the massacre. Widespread press coverage of the incident provoked international outrage and compelled the United States, Britain, and other NATO nations to convene a conference at Rambouillet, France, on February 6, 1999, to negotiate an end to the conflict. The negotiations included the United States, Britain, Germany, Russia, Yugoslavia (representing Milosevic's Serbs), and Albanian Kosovars, including representatives from the KLA. When the talks became deadlocked later that month, the United States suggested a way to end the impasse. If Milosevic refused to abide by a comprehensive peace settlement, NATO forces would engage in a bombing campaign to compel his forces from Kosovo; if the Albanian Kosovars balked at a peace plan, NATO would cease its aid to them and essentially permit Milosevic to do as he pleased in Kosovo. In the end, Milosevic and his Russian allies refused to sign a peace agreement, and Operation ALLIED FORCE commenced on March 23.

The NATO bombing campaign ended on June 10, with Milosevic's complete capitulation and the withdrawal of Serbian troops from Kosovo. Ironically, however, ALLIED FORCE actually emboldened Milosevic's forces to commit more atrocities, and ethnic cleansing skyrocketed between March and June. NATO's unwillingness to employ ground forces was certainly a contributing factor to Milosevic's calculation.

A U.S. State Department study of the events that unfolded between March and June 1999 estimated that at least 6,000 documented killings of Albanian Kosovars took place during that period; the total death count is probably closer to 10,000, as many victims' bodies were burned or dismembered, making identification next to impossible. Another 1.5 million Albanian Kosovars were displaced (some 90 percent of the Albanian Kosovars then living in Kosovo). After ALLIED FORCE began, more than 1,200 residential areas were partly or entirely destroyed, including some 500 towns and villages. The Serbs also leveled some 100 clinics, hospitals, and pharmacies.

The Serbs accomplished their campaign of terror and ethnic cleansing by forcing Albanian Kosovars from their homes, looting their businesses and homes, using them as human shields to protect their assets during the bombing campaign, engaging in the mass rape of women and girls, imprisoning male Albanian Kosovars in squalid conditions where they were beaten and abused, and stripping them of all their identity papers, including land deeds, passports,

car licenses, and other forms of identification. Many were killed outright, while scores more died from hunger, exposure, and disease.

Although the NATO bombing campaign did end Milosevic's reign of terror, it was not universally well received in the international community. The operation was not sanctioned by the United Nations (UN), which only acceded to it retroactively, and many argued that NATO seemed willing to intervene in a European genocide, but had stood idly by during the Rwandan genocide of 1994, implying that there was a double standard toward intervention based on race. Other critics pointed out civilian casualties precipitated by NATO airstrikes, including the accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade by U.S. warplanes on May 7, 1999. The Serbs also claimed that NATO had unleashed atrocities against their people, although many of those claims were propaganda deployed by Milosevic. In the end, Human Rights Watch estimated that no more than 500 Serbian civilians died as a result of ALLIED FORCE, compared to Milosevic's exaggerated claims of 1,200–5,000 killed.

On the other hand, ALLIED FORCE was well defended by U.S. president Bill Clinton, who argued that the carnage in Kosovo could not be allowed to continue and that the Serbs would only respond to blunt force. Holocaust writer and survivor Elie Wiesel visited refugee and prison camps during the Kosovo War, and based on what he saw, supported the air strikes as necessary and appropriate.

Once Milosevic accepted terms of capitulation, a large, multinational peacekeeping force, under NATO command but sanctioned by the UN, moved into Kosovo to enforce the peace, allow Albanian Kosovars to return to their homes, and help reconstruct the war-torn province. A thorny issue arose almost immediately after the bombing ended, however, when Russia moved its own peacekeeping troops into the airport at Pristina and announced that it would be sending peacekeeping forces to participate in the NATO peacekeeping effort. Because Russia had been allied with the Serbs, the Albanian Kosovars were naturally distrustful of the Russians. The situation was at least partly resolved by placing Russian soldiers in defensive positions where they would not have to interact with many Albanian Kosovars. Since June 1999, the NATO-led peacekeeping troops in Kosovo have gradually shifted responsibilities to local Kosovo forces and police. By the end of 2013, there were fewer than 5,000 foreign troops in the region conducting humanitarian and peacekeeping duties, with the number of troops being downscaled frequently thereafter.

The ethnic cleansing that occurred in Kosovo resulted in numerous war crime indictments by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia at The Hague. Indictments against Milosevic, Yugoslav deputy prime minister Nikola Sainovic, Yugoslav president Milan Milutinovic, Yugoslav army general Dragoljub Ojdanic, and Serbian interior minister Vlatko Stojiljkovic were handed down on May 28, 1999, even before the bombing campaign had ended. None of the indictments, however, charged the defendants with genocide. In October 2003, four others accused of war crimes in Kosovo were also indicted. Milosevic died in custody in March 2006, before his trial could be concluded. Most of the others were tried and found guilty.

Although the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo paled in comparison to the genocide unleashed during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War and the 1994 Rwandan genocide, it is now clear that at least some of the international community realized that concrete steps—including the use of military force—were necessary to prevent more deaths and deportations in Kosovo. Operation ALLIED FORCE also proved the usefulness of NATO in a post–Cold War world. Until 1999, some critics of the alliance had begun to question its usefulness and efficacy. Those doubts were now largely laid to rest. On a more cynical note, some detractors of President Clinton suggested that he used the bombing campaign as a way to divert public attention from his recent impeachment stemming from the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Albania; Bosnian War; Clinton, Bill; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo, War Crimes in; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation ALLIED FORCE; Operation HORSESHOE; Racak Massacre; Rambouillet Accords; Serbia

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European Union

The involvement of the European Community (EC) in the Yugoslav conflict marked the organization's emergence as a major actor in international security affairs in its own right, but it also highlighted the problems the EC members faced in pursuing their declared goal of establishing a "common foreign and security policy." (The EC formally became the European Union [EU] when the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union entered into force in November 1993.) When the Yugoslav war broke out in June–July 1991, the EC rapidly took the leading role in managing the conflict, brokering an agreement on the island of Brujuni whereby the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) would return to its barracks, Slovenia and Croatia would suspend their moves toward independence for three months, and a European Community Monitoring Mission (ECMM) would be deployed. Fighting, however, continued in Croatia. By September, there was debate over whether European Community members should intervene militarily to halt the conflict (using the framework of the EC's "defense arm," the Western European Union), but Britain vetoed this possibility. Instead, the EC appointed former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington as its peace negotiator, initiated peace talks in The Hague, and established the Badinter Commission to assess whether the various Yugoslav republics had met EC criteria for the recognition of their independence. The debate within the EC shifted to whether and when to recognize the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Germany supported the early recognition of Slovene and Croatian independence. Britain and France opposed this step, arguing that it would undermine the peace process and risk spreading the conflict to Bosnia. In

December, with Germany threatening to take unilateral action, EC foreign ministers agreed to recognize Slovene and Croatian independence in January. Attention now focused on Bosnia, where tensions were escalating. In February 1992, the EC proposed a settlement on the basis of a single Bosnian state that was divided into three ethnically based cantons—the premise of the Carrington-Cutileiro Plan (named after Carrington and Portuguese foreign minister José Cutileiro, since Portugal then held the EC presidency). The Bosnian government, however, rejected the plan and went ahead with an independence referendum; war broke out in the country. The EC recognized Bosnian independence in April. By this stage, international peace efforts were moving to the United Nations (UN), which had negotiated a cease-fire between Croatia and Serbia in November 1991 and deployed the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to Croatia in February 1992.

In August 1992 Britain, then holding the EC presidency, convened an EC-UN conference on Yugoslavia in London. This subsequently became the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), with politician David Owen appointed as Britain's EC cochair of the conference (alongside UN special envoy Cyrus Vance). The London conference laid down the basis for a settlement, including a cessation of violence and the nonrecognition of any gains achieved by force. In January 1993, the ICFY produced a more detailed peace plan (the Vance-Owen plan), based on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 provinces. Although the EC was willing to support the Vance-Owen plan, in the United States the new Bill Clinton administration opposed it, arguing that it would be a victory for "ethnic cleansing." The Vance-Owen plan failed, and fighting escalated in Bosnia. Divisions continued within the EC about the possible establishment of "safe areas" in Bosnia, the forces necessary to sustain them, and the basis for any peace settlement. In November 1993, a Franco-German initiative resulted in a new EU Joint [European] Action Plan, proposing a new internal division of Bosnia and an easing of sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), but this was again opposed by the United States. With the failure of the peacemaking efforts of the EC and ICFY, attention shifted first to the new Contact Group, which was established in April 1994, and later to U.S.-led diplomacy, which resulted in the Dayton Agreement in December 1995. It was notable that the EU was not represented in the Contact Group and that the United Kingdom, France, and Germany participated in the Contact Group and the Dayton negotiations in their own right rather than as EU representatives. The leading diplomatic role of the United States and the central

military role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the events that led to the Dayton Agreement and in its implementation highlighted the extent to which political leadership of the international efforts to manage the Yugoslav conflict had shifted away from the EU.

Despite the failure of its peace initiatives, however, the EU did continue to play an important role in the Yugoslav conflict and the subsequent peace process. ECMMs remained in place in Bosnia and Croatia throughout the conflict, providing a valuable—and generally recognized as neutral—source of information (particularly on human rights abuses and local political developments). The EU also took over the administration of the divided Bosnian city of Mostar in 1994, launching a substantial effort to reunite the city. The effort was largely unsuccessful, however, and the EU's first administrator for Mostar, Hans Koschnick, accused EU member states of failing to support him or to put sufficient pressure on the Bosnian Croats and Muslims to support reunification. Swedish politician Carl Bildt replaced David Owen as the EU's special representative for the former Yugoslavia in June 1995 and subsequently became the international community's first high representative in charge of the Dayton peace process. In the context of the Dayton process, the EU and its individual members were among the largest aid donors to Bosnia and Croatia. The EU also began to develop bilateral political and economic relationships with the former Yugoslav republics. The EU reached an agreement, known as the Association Agreement, with Slovenia, and the latter was among the first Central and Eastern European countries invited in 1997 to begin accession negotiations for EU membership. Political and economic cooperation agreements were arranged with Bosnia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Ties with Croatia and the FRY were limited by continuing disputes between the EU and these two countries over progress in implementing the Dayton Agreement, democracy, and human and minority rights. Although its growing ties with the former Yugoslav states gave the EU significant political leverage in the region, its involvement in the Yugoslav conflict had also sharply illustrated the problems it faced as an international actor and the difficulties of coordinating diplomacy among its members.

Andrew S. Cottey

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Dayton Peace Accords; Hurd, Douglas; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Vance-Owen Peace Plan

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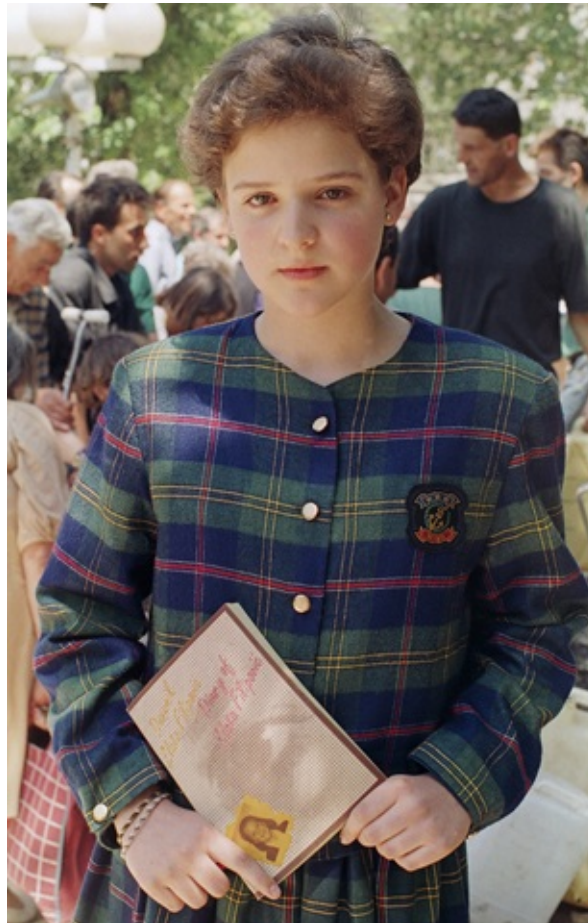
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Filipovic, Zlata

Zlata Filipovic was born in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, on December 3, 1980. At the age of 10, in September 1991, she started keeping a diary. When the Bosnian War began in 1992, and Sarajevo became first encircled and then besieged by Bosnian Serbs and the Yugoslav army, her diary became a record of the war and survival. To this day, it provides a powerful account of what Zlata, her family, and her neighbors lived through during the siege. Until 1992 she had lived the carefree life of an 11-year-old; when war suddenly entered her life, her diary became the confidante of her closest thoughts and impressions of what was happening to her city and the environment around her.



Zlata Filipovic, a young schoolgirl at the start of the Bosnian War, kept a diary during the siege of Sarajevo. Some have called her the “Anne Frank of Bosnia,” though this is a term she rejects. Her diary has become an iconic record of a child at war in the 1990s. (AP Photo)

The early entries, from 1991, recounted the typical events of a schoolchild in Sarajevo, but from 1992 until late 1993 the diary chronicled the horrors of war as it pertained to the city. These two years recorded life without the normality of school or electricity, with rationed meals and the sound of shelling. Gasoline supplies were cut off, water became scarce, and Zlata became increasingly sequestered away in an internal room in the family apartment. Her experiences revealed an innocent life horrifyingly transformed through war. A cozy home was converted into a fragile shelter bereft of electricity or water. Zlata showed herself to be a true expert witness to the war in Bosnia, conveying the real meaning of the siege of Sarajevo as no news report could. She described a life of constant bombing, food shortages, and the end of a happy childhood. She commented on the lines of refugees she observed, noting that they reminded her of movies about the Holocaust. Snipers lurked on the rooftops of Sarajevo as heavy artillery surrounded the city. Readers of the diary see that Zlata was transformed from a girl with a clever mind and a cheery disposition to one whose world is shattered by the chaos and terror of war.

Notwithstanding the horror, Zlata’s diary entries proceeded, demonstrating a maturing appreciation of the buzzing confusion taking place around her, chronicling the varied emotions that war brings. In short, the innocence of Zlata’s Sarajevo childhood was ruined by war, but her diary provided her with a psychological escape.

During the summer of 1992 she gave her diary to her teacher, who later submitted it to a small publisher in Sarajevo associated with a French humanitarian organization. Once the diary became public property, interest followed from all over the world. A French publisher, Robert Laffont, negotiated the rights to republish the diary commercially, the inducement being that the publisher would work with the French government to help Zlata and her parents flee the fighting. On December 23, 1993, the family left Sarajevo on a returning humanitarian flight and went to Paris. On the strength of the diary, the now 13-year-old Zlata had become a celebrity almost overnight.

Over the next several months she was flown around the world in order to promote *Zlata’s Diary*, which became an instant international best seller. Before

long it had been translated into 36 languages and became required reading in many schools worldwide. Zlata met with students and politicians, conscious of the responsibility to employ her experience as recounted in the diary as a way to give a voice to those she left behind.

In October 1995, after a year in Paris, the Filipovic family moved to Dublin. Although she knew next to nothing about Ireland, Zlata settled quickly into Irish society, attending school and enjoying some measure of relative anonymity. In Dublin, Zlata excelled academically at St. Andrew's College, such that when she graduated she moved to Britain to attend Oxford University. In 2001 she completed a BA in human sciences, and then moved back to Ireland to undertake an MPhil in international peace studies at Trinity College Dublin. Since then, she has spoken extensively at schools and universities around the globe about her experiences in Sarajevo, and has served with organizations such as the Anne Frank House and UNICEF. She has worked within the UN Children and Armed Conflict division in New York, and collaborated with Amnesty International USA on developing human rights education material, as well as acting as a member of the executive committee of Amnesty International Ireland. She also works with a film production company in Ireland, developing and producing documentaries. In 2011 she produced the short film, *Stand Up!*, part of a campaign by the organization BeLonG To Youth opposed to homophobic bullying in Irish schools.

As an adult, Zlata Filipovic has devoted herself to humanitarian efforts and literature. In 2006 she coedited a book, *Stolen Voices: Young People's War Diaries, from World War I to Iraq*, a collection of children's diaries from different war zones. While developing a name for herself in humanitarian work, though, internationally she is probably best known for her own diary from Sarajevo between 1991 and 1993.

Filipovic has been described as the new Anne Frank, a reference that was made in the diary itself. News agencies and media outlets around the world embraced the idea with relish. Others, however, were offended by the comparison to Anne Frank in view of the fact that Anne and her family did not survive their ordeal, whereas Filipovic and her parents not only survived but thrived in a new land that granted them refuge. Filipovic herself has expressed unease with this comparison. Yet it could be said that both girls were intelligent children caught up in violent situations over which they had no control, during wars of ethnic cleansing and extermination. *Zlata's Diary*, just as much as Anne Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl*, is a poignant plea for peace and a testament to

the futility and waste of war. As an adult, Zlata Filipovic has since devoted herself to trying to ensure that her story will continue to attract attention and give a recognizable and representative face to children caught up in conflict.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Sarajevo, Siege of; Sniper Alley

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Finci, Jakob

Jakob Finci is a leading member of the Bosnian Jewish community. During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, as president of *La Benevolencija*, Bosnia's Jewish cultural, educational, and humanitarian society, he provided medical and relief supplies for the population of Sarajevo, and arranged for the evacuation to safety of over 3,000 people.

Of Sephardi background, from a family that arrived in Sarajevo in the mid-16th century after the Jews' expulsion from Spain, Finci was born on October 1, 1943, soon after his parents had been liberated from an Italian internment camp. He graduated from the law faculty at the University of Sarajevo in 1966, and became an expert in the area of international trade law.

With war looming, in 1991 he sent his eldest son to Israel. His younger son followed less than a year later. He then set to work to bring goodness to his city. In 1991 he was among a number of those supporting the reestablishment of an old Jewish cultural, educational, and humanitarian society, *La Benevolencija*. The society was first established as far back as January 1892 for the purpose of fostering Jewish culture and tradition, rescuing Bosnian Jewish history, assisting with educational activities, and providing humanitarian assistance and health care to those in need of it. *La Benevolencija* also cooperates with other similar organizations at home and abroad, and over the years has established affiliates in the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Serbia, Macedonia, France, Italy and the UK. This network of organizations, under the name "Friends of *La Benevolencija* Sarajevo," is one of the most important sources of financing for the organization's activities.

As vice president in 1991 and president since 1993, Finci directed an organization that became the only local body delivering humanitarian relief on a nonsectarian basis. With the conflict spreading from Slovenia to Croatia during 1991, *La Benevolencija* managed to get medicine through the front lines to a small group of elderly Jews trapped in besieged Dubrovnik. In Sarajevo, Finci

and his colleagues began to stockpile medicines and foodstuffs sufficient to be able to get through the winter. When the first shots of the Bosnian War were fired in April 1992, the organization immediately organized the first evacuation of children and the elderly from the city. Half of the 1,400-strong Jewish community left, with the approval of the Bosnian authorities. *La Benevolencija* also opened a soup kitchen, serving 300 hot meals a day, seven days a week, for anyone who turned up.

The commitment shown by Finci; Ivica Ceresnjes, the then-president of the Jewish community of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and countless volunteers, saw remarkable humanitarian work undertaken during the siege of Sarajevo. In the first two years of the siege, *La Benevolencija* opened three pharmacies and gave away 1,600,000 prescriptions; opened the city's only clinic, where multiethnic staff tended 25,000 patients; gave away 380 tons of food; served 110,000 hot meals in the soup kitchen; started a postal service that handled 100,000 letters; set up a two-way radio connection with the outside world; looked after refugees from elsewhere in Bosnia; and started a thriving Sunday school for 50 children, only 20 of whom were Jewish.

On account of *La Benevolencija*'s Jewish identity, the organization found itself in a unique position of neutrality in a conflict involving Bosnian Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Finci sought and received clearances from all the warring parties, eventually enabling nearly 3,000 people, in 11 mixed rescue convoys of Muslim, Croat, and Serb families, to flee the country. Somehow, the organization managed to obtain permission from the Bosnian government for people to leave, negotiated safe passage from the Serbs, and arranged their entry to Croatia. It seemed as though the Jewish efforts at helping were known to all living under siege in Sarajevo. Among those who contemplated approaching *La Benevolencija* was the family of Zlata Filipovic, which eventually managed to escape the city as a result of publicity generated through the publication of Zlata's wartime diary in 1993.

Finci also arranged for "new Jews" to leave—people who turned up at *La Benevolencija* headquarters stating that they had suddenly discovered a long-lost Jewish connection in their family. Among his many activities, Finci smuggled people out on false documents, even arranging for one elderly Muslim couple to use his own late parents' identities as a way to clear the Serb roadblocks.

Arranging for food convoys was not easy, however. Finci and his colleagues had to negotiate with all sides and clear a path through up to 38 different checkpoints between Sarajevo and the ingress port of Split, Croatia. Finci would

himself accompany *La Benevolencija*'s two trucks to Split each month in order to get the much-needed supplies, and soldiers on all sides respected the efforts of the Jewish welfare body.

In August 1993 Finci became president of *La Benevolencija* and, two years later, the first elected president of the Jewish community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By the time the war ended in late 1995, he had become one of Bosnia's most respected public figures. Although head of the tiny Bosnian Jewish community, the esteem in which Finci was held led him to become Bosnia-Herzegovina's executive director of the Open Society Foundation, the world initiative of philanthropist George Soros. He held this position from September 1996 to April 2000.

In a much more challenging role, in February 2000 Finci was elected chairman of a national committee charged with setting up a truth and reconciliation commission. While this proved to be too difficult to resolve through official means, his earlier work from 1997, as a founder of the Interreligious Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina (IRC), was more promising. This group worked toward reconciliation among the three ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, seeking to achieve peace and coexistence through the building of tolerance and civil society within Bosnia. From 1997 to 1999 Finci was the first president of IRC, a role he again took on in 2003.

In late 2006 Finci and Dervo Sejdic, a prominent Bosnian Roma and member of Bosnia's Roma Council, filed suit against the Bosnian government on the ground that its constitution discriminated against them running for the office of president on ethnic and/or religious grounds. Following the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement that brought the Bosnian War to an end, positions in the Bosnian parliament and presidency were to be reserved for what were called "constituent peoples"—Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats—under rules intended to prevent continued ethnic strife. Other groups, including Jews and Roma, were excluded. On January 3, 2007, Finci and Sejdic were informed by Bosnia's Central Election Commission that they were ineligible to stand for parliamentary or presidential elections. Bringing their action to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, the court ruled in favour of the two plaintiffs on December 22, 2009, judging that Bosnia discriminates against Jews and Roma by forbidding them from running for elected office. As of this writing, however, no constitutional changes have been made to accommodate the court's ruling.

In 2008, in an ironic twist, Jakob Finci—ineligible to run for parliament or the highest office in his country—was appointed to represent it internationally

when he became the ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Switzerland.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Filipovic, Zlata; Mandlbaum, Zoran; Sarajevo, Siege of

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Foca

During the 1992–1995 Bosnian War, Montenegrin and Serbian forces committed many atrocities in and around the ancient city of Foca. Among them was the establishment of “rape camps,” where Muslim women were systematically raped or sexually abused. Foca is situated on the Drina River in eastern Bosnia, an area which the Serbs hoped to “ethnically cleanse” of Muslims. The Serbs not only established rape and killing camps, but they also destroyed virtually all vestiges of Muslim culture, including museums, schools, mosques, and libraries. In the summer of 1992, Roy Gutman, an American journalist, and British journalist Ed Vulliamy, first reported on the existence of the Serbian rape camps.

Gutman's and Vulliamy's reporting on the atrocities in eastern Bosnia quickly garnered international attention. The Serbians and Montenegrins in turn worked feverishly to cover up or destroy all evidence of the camps, fearing that they could be accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity. At the same time, press coverage of these nefarious activities led many human rights groups, including Human Rights Watch, to include sexual violence as an international war crime. The use of mass rape by Serbian and Montenegrin forces was a clever calculation on their part, as the act of rape was considered by Muslims to be particularly vile. The sexual violence was thus designed to force out any Muslims who had not otherwise been killed or deported earlier.

Eventually, some 14 Serbian leaders were tried and convicted for their participation in the Foca atrocities, including Dragan Gagovic, Gojko Jankovic, Janko Janjic, Radomir Kovac, Zoran Vukovic, Dragan Zelenovic, Dragoljub Kunarac, Radovan Stankovic, Savo Todovic, Milorad Krnojelac, and Mitar Rasevic. Some of the defendants were tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and others by the Court of Bosnia

and Herzegovina. Radovan Karadzic was also arrested and tried for his part in the Foca calamity, but his trial is ongoing.

In the fall of 2004, the Association of Women-Victims of War, headquartered in Sarajevo, attempted to put up a small commemorative plaque in Foca to remember the female victims of rape during the Bosnian War. That effort was met with solid resistance from Foca's non-Muslims, and the plaque was never constructed. Of the 22,000 or so Muslims who lived in Foca prior to the war, only about 2,000 were left after the conflict ended. During the early 2000s, some displaced Muslims returned, but they are still a very small minority in Foca.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian War; Gagovic, Dragan; Gutman, Roy; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Jankovic, Gojko; Rape Camps; Rape Warfare; Sexual Violence against Women; Vulliamy, Ed; Women in Black

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G

Gagovic, Dragan

Dragan Gagovic was the police chief in Foca, a town southeast of Bosnia's capital, Sarajevo, during the civil war in Bosnia in 1992. He was appointed police chief by Radovan Karadzic's Serbian Democratic Party shortly after Bosnian Serb troops took control of the town in April 1992.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague charged Gagovic in the "Foca Indictment," the first indictment by that court to classify rape as a war crime. Gagovic was accused of detaining Muslim women, children, and elderly men in the Partizan Sports Hall in Foca. During their detainment, women and girls as young as 12 were the victims of gang rapes, verbal and mental abuse, and other sexually aggressive crimes.

According to the indictment, Gagovic had full knowledge of the crimes being committed and even participated in them himself. During the drafting of the Foca Indictment, a woman known as FWS 48 ("Foca Witness 48") testified that Gagovic had raped her after she complained about sexual assaults the day before. The indictment stated that Gagovic "knew or had reason to know that the women who were detained ... were frequently sexually assaulted," and that he failed to take action to stop the crimes. Because of his lack of action, Gagovic and two other men accused on the same counts were "responsible for all the crimes set out in the respective [62] counts."

On January 9, 1999, Gagovic was confronted by French soldiers who belonged to the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR). During the confrontation, Gagovic was shot to death in his car. Immediately after the event, a NATO spokesman relayed a message from NATO secretary general Javier Solana, stating that the French soldiers had acted in self-defense when they killed Gagovic because he "charged at members of SFOR in his car, threatening to kill them." The five children in the car, ages eight to 12, were not harmed in the attack.

Gagovic's death precipitated an international backlash against SFOR. The force had already been criticized for employing brutal tactics when it killed Simo Drljaca from Prijedor, who was also a wanted war criminal. He was "liquidated" during Operation TANGO on July 10, 1997. That time it had been British troops

attached to SFOR who killed Drljaca as he fished with his son and brother-in-law. Drljaca had also been indicted at The Hague.

Critics of the International Criminal Tribunal and SFOR forces were quick to point out that Serb and Muslim witnesses and a 1998 Human Rights Watch report stated that most of the crimes against humanity committed in Foca were coordinated by the “crisis committee.” That committee was established by a group of nationalist leaders that included Velibor Ostojic, the propaganda chief of Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic. Although Gagovic did sit in on the crisis committee meetings, the orders were supposedly given by Ostojic to begin a terror campaign against the Muslims in Foca.

Anastasia Bottos

See also: Foca; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Rape Warfare; Sexual Violence against Women

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Gorazde

Gorazde is a predominantly Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) city located within the Republika Srpska, besieged by Serbian forces during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War. Gorazde, with a population of about 30,000, is situated along the Drina River in the southeastern part of Bosnia. In April 1993, United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces established Gorazde as one of several official “safe havens” where Bosniaks could seek refuge from Serbian attacks. The city was thereafter garrisoned with a small contingent of peacekeeping troops attached to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).



An elderly resident of Gorazde considers the destruction of his city in the early spring of 1993. Gorazde was one of six United Nations “safe havens” guaranteed as a place where civilians would be protected from

Serbian attacks. The city did not fall during the war, even though it was under constant siege for nearly two years. (AP Photo/Peter Northall)

In late March and early April 1994, Serb forces, chiefly the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), converged on Gorazde in an attempt to drive UNPROFOR troops out and ethnically cleanse the city of Muslims. This operation included heavy artillery shelling, which wrought much damage and killed numerous civilians in Gorazde. VRS forces then took hostage some 150 UNPROFOR troops stationed at Gorazde, using them as human shields to prevent threatened air strikes by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air assets. The situation opened up large fissures between the UN, which was hesitant to employ force against Serb forces, and NATO, which sought to punish the Serbs for violating the laws of warfare.

With Gorazde besieged, no supplies or troops could exit or enter the city without coming under attack. On April 22, with the situation in the city growing increasingly dire, NATO gave Serb forces an ultimatum. Unless they withdrew at least three kilometers from the city, released the hostages, ceased their artillery attacks, and permitted free access and exit to all UNPROFOR troops and supply convoys, NATO intended to bomb Serb assets until they complied with NATO's terms. The Serbs quickly agreed to do so, although Gorazde remained under a loose quarantine and was sporadically shelled until the end of the war in December 1995. Notably, Gorazde was the only Muslim city in eastern Bosnia that neither fell to the Serbs nor was ethnically cleansed. Although this distinction was helped by the UN presence there, much of the credit goes to the citizens of Gorazde, who put up a heroic defense and withstood extremely difficult living conditions for nearly two years.

The defense of Gorazde showcased the differing approaches toward humanitarian operations between NATO and the UN. The UN simply tried to avoid all potential conflict on the ground by not engaging in activities that might escalate into a shooting war. NATO, on the other hand, clearly demonstrated its willingness to employ force, if necessary, to uphold the mission of the peacekeeping operation. During the Kosovo War, these differences became most apparent when NATO unleashed Operation ALLIED FORCE against Serb forces commanded by Slobodan Milosevic in 1999. That 78-day campaign successfully forced Serb forces from the province of Kosovo, stopped ethnic cleansing there, and ended the conflict. The UN initially refused to sanction the NATO operation and did so only retroactively, after the war was over.

After the Dayton Agreement was signed in December 1995, a guaranteed corridor was established linking Gorazde with the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which lies to the northwest. This corridor was created to ensure that the Serbs do not besiege the city again and that Gorazde residents have access to the federation to which it belongs. Gorazde has been slowly reconstructed since 1995, but there are still many reminders of the damage it sustained during the Bosnian War.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosniaks; Bosnian Safe Areas; Bosnian War; Kosovo War; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation ALLIED FORCE; Republika Srpska; United Nations Protection Force

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Gotovina, Ante

Ante Gotovina served as commander in chief of Croatian forces during Operation STORM, a campaign launched against the Serbian Krajina on August 4, 1995, with the objective of recapturing the enclave from the Serbs and expelling them from the territory.

Born on October 12, 1955, on Pasman Island in what was then Yugoslavia, Gotovina spent a restless youth looking for ways to move beyond what the gray environment of the stagnant communist state had to offer. In 1973 he ran away to join the French Foreign Legion, where he became a member of an elite parachute commando unit. He fought in actions in Djibouti, Zaire, and Ivory Coast, and in April 1979 obtained French citizenship. Allegedly living on the margins of legality through the next few years, in the 1980s he was indicted for crimes such as extortion and robbery and served a short prison sentence. He later moved to South America. In 1991, with the outbreak of war in the Balkans, he returned to Croatia.

On June 25, 1991, the Croatian Republic proclaimed its independence from the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, and Gotovina enlisted in the Croatian National Guard (*Zbor narodne garde*, or ZNG), the first organized military body of what would later become the Croatian army. When it was established as such in 1992, Gotovina was promoted to colonel. Soon he was appointed commander of operations and military training in the First Brigade Corps of the National Guard, and from February to April 1992 he held the position of second commander of the Special Unit of the Croatian General Staff. On October 9, 1992, he was appointed commander of the Operations Zone of Split, a position he held until March 1996. By 1994 he had risen to the rank of major general.

Traditionally, the Krajina borderland between Croatia and Bosnia was the heartland of Croatia's ethnic Serb community, which in 1990 comprised about 11 percent of Croatia's population. With the rise to power of Croatian nationalist leader Franjo Tudjman, ethnic Serbs began to have their rights to autonomy cut back. As Croatia then moved toward independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, Serbs in the Krajina, opposed to any status that would force them to remain in an independent Croatia, began to make moves to break away and establish their own state and fight for their independence. On December 19, 1991, the Republic of Serbian Krajina (*Republika Srpska Krajina*, or RSK) was proclaimed.

During the period between approximately August 1, 1991, and February 15, 1992, Krajina Serb forces, supported by units from the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), attacked towns, villages, and localities in the Krajina. They then instituted a system of political, racial, and religious persecution aimed at forcing the Croatian and other non-Serb civilian populations out of the area.

During this time, Gotovina was responsible for carrying out military operations in the area around Split, including a defense of the region in the face of Serb assaults commanded by General Ratko Mladic. Gotovina's campaigns enabled his forces to encircle the city of Knin. With U.S. assistance, Tudjman rebuilt and reequipped the Croatian army, and on August 4, 1995, Croatian forces, in Operation STORM, crossed the cease-fire line and recaptured Knin. Under Gotovina's command, Croatian forces now persecuted, expelled, and murdered vast numbers of Krajina Serbs, leading to the RSK leadership, along with nearly 200,000 Krajina Serbs, fleeing, under conditions of extensive distress and hardship, to nearby Serbia or the Serb regions of Bosnia. Gotovina was later accused of command responsibility for the death of 150 Serb civilians, as well as for the mass flight and expulsion of scores of thousands of others. For these and other actions, Gotovina is today viewed as a hero by many right-wing and nationalist Croats.

In March 1996 Gotovina was named chief inspector of the inspectorate of the Croatian army by President Franjo Tudjman. Politics intervened, however, on September 29, 2000, when Gotovina and six other high-ranking officers were forced to stand aside by Tudjman's successor Stjepan ("Stipe") Mesic after they published an open letter criticizing the government's decision to investigate war crimes during the earlier conflict. This took away much of Gotovina's postwar protection, leading to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former

Yugoslavia (ICTY) issuing an indictment against him on May 21, 2001, for war crimes committed during Operation STORM.

According to the indictment, Gotovina participated in a joint criminal enterprise, the purpose of which was the permanent removal of the Serb population from the Krajina region. He was indicted along with the commander of the Knin garrison, General Ivan Cermak, and assistant minister of the interior and commander of the Croatian special police in the Krajina, Mladen Markac. Gotovina was charged with five counts of crimes against humanity (persecutions, deportation, inhumane acts, murder) and four counts of violations of the laws or customs of war (plunder, wanton destruction, murder, cruel treatment).

In July 2001 the ICTY issued sealed indictments to the Croatian government seeking Gotovina's arrest, but by that stage he had gone into hiding. He went on the run for the next four years, and despite intensive efforts by the United States, Interpol, and countries from the European Union, he remained at large until captured in Tenerife, in Spain's Canary Islands, on December 7, 2005. He was transferred to the ICTY on December 10, 2005.

On December 12 he made his first appearance before the ICTY and pleaded not guilty on all counts brought against him: persecution on political, racial, and religious grounds; murder; plunder of public or private property; wanton destruction of towns and villages; deportation; forcible transfer; and other inhumane acts. The prosecutor then proposed that Gotovina be judged together with Cermak and Markac, and on July 14, 2006, the trial chamber accepted the motion and ordered that the cases be joined for a common trial.

The trial began on March 11, 2008. On March 5, 2009, the prosecution completed its case-in-chief, and on January 27, 2010, the defense rested its case. Closing arguments were heard in September 2010, with the prosecution calling for a sentence of 27 years imprisonment for Gotovina, 23 years for Markac, and 17 years for Cermak. On April 15, 2011, Gotovina was found guilty on seven of the eight counts of the indictment, and sentenced to imprisonment for 24 years. Markac was also found guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and sentenced to 18 years. Cermak was acquitted.

Large crowds who had gathered in Zagreb to watch the announcement of the ICTY verdict on big screens in the city protested loudly when the presiding judge, Alphons Orie, declared the accused guilty. Many Croats still see Gotovina as a war hero and national liberator during the Croatian War of Independence, and consider him a martyr to the cause of Croatian accession to

the European Union. Several members of the EU had argued for years that a successful capture, trial, and conviction of Gotovina would be one of the key conditions for Croatia to commence European Union accession talks.

On November 16, 2012, after appealing the prior court's decision, Gotovina and Markac were acquitted by the presiding judge of the ICTY, Theodor Meron. Meron stated that there had been no conspiracy to "permanently and forcibly remove" the Serb population from Krajina. The two former generals maintained that they did not deliberately attack civilians.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Croatia; Croatian War of Independence; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Tudjman, Franjo

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Gutman, Roy

Roy Gutman is a multi-award-winning American journalist and author. Educated at Haverford College (Pennsylvania) and the London School of Economics, Gutman was born on March 5, 1944, in New York City. A career journalist, he has specialized in foreign affairs reporting, having worked in some of the world's most newsworthy locations. He was employed by Reuters for nearly a dozen years during the Cold War, serving in such places as Bonn, Vienna, Belgrade, London, and Washington, and was employed for brief periods by *Newsweek* and UPI.

Gutman joined the New York newspaper *Newsday* in January 1982, and served for eight years as national security reporter in Washington, DC. In 1989, *Newsday* asked him to go to Europe. As a speaker of German, he was given the task of opening a *Newsday* office in Germany, in which he would act as European bureau chief. This placed him in the position of being able to cover the fall of communism in Europe, and between 1989 and 1994 he reported the downfall of the Polish, East German, and Czechoslovak regimes, the opening of the Berlin Wall, the unification of Germany, the first democratic elections in the former Eastern bloc, and the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia. It was his reporting on the latter event that won him international renown and changed the direction of his career as a journalist.

He had not visited Yugoslavia since 1975. In 1991, at the end of the Persian Gulf War, the newspaper asked him to investigate what was happening in the country in the aftermath of the fall of communism and the rise of a new Serbian nationalism under Slobodan Milosevic. New forms of nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia had also developed. Gutman traveled through each of the Yugoslav republics, with a particular interest in the ethnic and religious complexity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. War between Croatia and Serb-controlled Yugoslavia began in June 1991, and for the remainder of the year he endeavored to cover the

story of the war. With little interest being shown by the readership back in the United States, however, he found it difficult to see many of his stories make it into print.

In Bosnia, the situation was different. On April 6, 1992, Bosnia declared its independence from the rapidly disintegrating Yugoslav federation. Combining Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats into one country would make independence a difficult proposition, as the nationalisms that had been unleashed over the previous few years had fostered separatist movements throughout the country. On the same day that Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence—and this was recognized by the European powers and international bodies around the world—the Serbs invaded and a new war began.

As it turned out, Gutman was not there when the shooting started. With such relatively little interest being shown in the earlier Croatian conflict, the Bosnian War, at the beginning, was generally underreported throughout the American press. By the summer of 1992, however, the siege of Sarajevo had begun to attract a lot of attention, so Gutman returned, initially to the largely Serb city of Banja Luka, in northern Bosnia. It was here that he first came across the term “ethnic cleansing.” He spoke to a number of people, trying to get to the core of the story from all sides. He went back and forth between Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs in the city, finally concluding that stories he had heard about cattle-car deportations were true. More—and worse—was to come. He next heard of the existence of what were being called concentration camps.

Without hesitation, he went to the Serb authorities and simply requested that he be allowed to visit such places. Amazingly, they not only agreed, but offered to take him to a camp of his choosing. He asked to see the camp at Omarska, but was not taken there; instead, he was taken to a camp at Manjaca, the same day a Red Cross delegation was visiting. His photographer, Andree Kaiser, accompanied him and, Despite being closely guarded, managed to take revealing and damning photographs showing the degradation that the Bosniak prisoners were experiencing. With this story in hand, Gutman then demanded to be taken to Omarska. Again he was refused, so he began to research the story from other sources, both in Banja Luka and in Zagreb, where he interviewed a number of refugees.

By the time he wrote his account of Omarska, he still had not visited the place. The nature of his account, however, finally made people in the United States take notice. *Newsday* ran the story with the headline “Death Camps,” creating a furor around with world, and this precipitated a flurry of further

reporting from Gutman that shocked enlightened opinion. Atrocities such as beatings and murders in concentration camps; forced starvation; rape camps where women were held and raped systematically and for months at a time; indiscriminate shelling of civilians; the destruction of culture; attacks on refugees, mosques, schools, and libraries—Gutman tried to leave no stone unturned in bringing to the world the horror of what he had witnessed or of what had been related to him.

The international outrage his story (and that of a British journalist, Ed Vulliamy) produced led in due course to the Serbs closing down a number of the camps and freeing the inmates. Later, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that these closures may have saved up to 6,000 lives. Yet throughout all of his coverage, Gutman was careful not to act recklessly with language. He never used the terms “war crimes” or “genocide” in any of his coverage, though he had no doubt that everything to which he had been witness in fact added up to genocide.

Gutman’s reports on atrocities and “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia-Herzegovina won the 1993 Pulitzer Prize for international reporting, as well as several other important human rights awards. The same year, he gathered together his dispatches from Bosnia into a single volume and published them as *A Witness to Genocide*. The book became a best seller. It was not a monograph, and for those who had been following his accounts in *Newsday* there was nothing new there, but the value in having the reports gathered together was profound for those contemplating the place of the United States in a post–Cold War world in which the moral code of the West had won out over totalitarianism.

As a result of his experiences in Bosnia and elsewhere, Gutman developed his interest further in an attempt to bring together reporters and legal scholars to broaden public awareness of the laws of war. With another journalist possessing Bosnian War experience, David Rieff, he cofounded the “Crimes of War” project, based at American University in Washington, DC. This has led to the production of a guide to war crimes entitled *Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know*, which Gutman and Rieff coedited and is now in its second edition.

In a final testament to the lasting legacy brought about by Gutman’s work, in April 2010 he was awarded the key to the city of Sarajevo as well as honorary citizenship of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in gratitude to him for his reporting during the 1992–1995 war.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosnian War; Concentration Camps; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Rape Camps; Vulliamy, Ed

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H

Hadzic, Goran

Goran Hadzic was a political leader and president of the Serb entity in Croatia known as the Republic of Serbian Krajina in 1991–1992 during the Croatian War of Independence. He was later indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for war crimes committed during the conflict accompanying the breakup of that country throughout the first half of the 1990s.

An ethnic Serb, Hadzic was born on September 7, 1958, in the town of Pacetin, near Vinkovci, Croatia, in what was then still Yugoslavia. Before 1991 he worked as a storeman in a warehouse, but he had political leanings from an early age. As a youth he was a member of the League of Communists, the party of Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz Tito. In the late 1980s, Hadzic joined the Serbian Democratic Party (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, or SDS), a political party in Croatia appealing to Croatia's Serb population. The party existed between 1990 and 1995, and Hadzic's rise was rapid.

On June 25, 1991, during Croatia's war for independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, Serbs from eastern Slavonia sought autonomy for the region, establishing a "Serb Autonomous Oblast" (SAO) and separating from the recently declared Republic of Croatia. Hadzic was elected to lead the SAO's government, soon thereafter joining with two other SAOs to form the self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK). On February 26, 1992, the Assembly of the RSK replaced its first leader, Milan Babic, with Hadzic as the new premier, a position he held until December 1993.

Hadzic thus found himself in the position of leading his small republic during a time of war. In September 1993, when Croat forces threatened his position, Hadzic pleaded with Serbia's president Slobodan Milosevic for troops to be sent to assist the hard-pressed RSK army. Milosevic did not comply, but a large force of Serbian militia under the command of Zeljko Raznatovic, also known as "Arkan," moved in to provide support.

Hadzic lost the presidency of RSK in February 1994, and after the war ended in 1995 he moved to Serbia. As a tribute to his fallen comrade-in-arms, in 2000

he attended the funeral of Raznatovic in Belgrade, after Arkan had been gunned down in an apparent gangland execution.

During his time as president of RSK, it is alleged that Hadzic was responsible for a number of major crimes perpetrated in order to ethnically cleanse the region. On June 4, 2004, he was indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Specifically, Hadzic was charged with 14 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his alleged involvement in the forcible removal and murder of thousands of Croatian civilians from the Republic of Croatia between 1991 and 1993. His indictment explicitly identified the massacre of 250 Croatian and non-Serb civilians from the Vukovar hospital in 1991, in one of the first atrocities of the war. The main thrust of the allegations also included prolonged imprisonment of civilians in detention facilities where torture, beatings, and killing took place, together with the forcible transfer of tens of thousands of non-Serbs from across the area under his control.

In 2004, just as it seemed he was about to be arrested, Hadzic disappeared from his home in Novi Sad, Serbia. Numerous sightings were reported over the next few years—in monasteries in Serbia and in locations in Montenegro and Belarus. On a tip-off, Serbian police raided Hadzic's home on October 9, 2009, but to no avail. Then, on June 18, 2010, the prosecutor of the ICTY, the Belgian Serge Brammertz, who succeeded Carla Del Ponte and took over many of her problem cases, declared before the UN Security Council that his highest priority was the arrest of the two major remaining war crimes suspects from the Balkan wars, Ratko Mladic and Goran Hadzic. Brammertz said at this time that efforts to find the last two major fugitives of the Balkan conflicts must be stepped up so that the ICTY could conclude its work.

On July 20, 2011, Serbian president Boris Tadic announced that Hadzic had been arrested by Serbian police near the village of Krusedol, northern Serbia. He was taken to Belgrade, and then to the ICTY at The Hague. On July 25 he appeared for an initial hearing before Judge O-Gon Kwon, but did not enter a plea. At arraignment on August 24, 2011, however, he pleaded not guilty to charges of murdering hundreds of Croats and expelling tens of thousands more in ethnic cleansing campaigns in Croatia. Hadzic was diagnosed with terminal brain cancer in November 2014, and the trial was suspended indefinitely. In April 2015 the tribunal agreed to his provisional release, and he was transferred to Serbia.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Babic, Milan; Croatian War of Independence; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Raznatovic, Zeljko; Vukovar

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Halilovic, Sefer

Sefer Halilovic is a retired Bosnian military officer, a former leader in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH), and a politician in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (RBiH). He was indicted for—but acquitted of—war crimes during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Sefer Halilovic was born on January 6, 1952, in Prijepolje, Sandzak, Serbia (then in Yugoslavia) and attended the Yugoslav military academy at Belgrade and the military school at Zadar. He then joined the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and worked primarily as a security officer. In 1990–1991, he studied at a school for military commanders, but in September 1991 he quit the JNA with the rank of major, went to Bosnia-Herzegovina, founded the Patriotic League, and advised leaders on the formation of a new army.

Halilovic was named commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the fledgling ABiH in May 1992, which for a time made him the seniormost officer of the army. In June 1993, the Bosnian government named Rasim Delic as commander of the Supreme Command Staff, with Halilovic now becoming deputy commander of the Supreme Command Staff. As the Bosnian War progressed, Halilovic became embroiled in a power struggle with Bosnian political leaders, and on July 7, 1993, he narrowly escaped death during an assassination attempt. The would-be assassins used a remote-controlled bomb, which detonated but killed Halilovic's wife and brother-in-law instead of Halilovic.

After the Bosnian War, Halilovic served as a minister for the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1998–2001), and in 1996 he founded his own political party—the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriot Party-Sefer Halilovic. In the late 1990s, he also became known for his vocal opposition to Bosnian president Alija

Izetbegovic. In 1997, he published a memoir, *Cunning Strategy*, in which he tried to explain his role in the events of the early and mid-1990s.

On July 30, 2001, the ICTY indicted Halilovic for war crimes, specifically in connection with massacres in Uzdol and Grabovica in September 1993. Although he had not been present during those events, the prosecutor held that he was responsible as a military commander. The trial began on January 31, 2005, and ended on August 31, 2005. Halilovic's defense team argued that their client had been set up by Rasim Delic and Bosnian politicians who disliked Halilovic. On November 16, 2005, the ICTY found Halilovic innocent of all charges, asserting that he in fact did not have ultimate command authority during the time of the massacres. The prosecution appealed the decision, which was ultimately upheld.

Since his acquittal, Halilovic has been actively involved in the politics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in October 2005 he was elected to the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Bosnian War; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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Holbrooke, Richard

Arguably the most important U.S. diplomat of the late 20th century, Richard Holbrooke was a human dynamo who engaged in a diverse range of activities in a long public career. In addition to being a professional diplomat, he was a scholarly researcher, a journal editor, a renowned author, an investment banker, and a security adviser during a presidential campaign. Born on April 24, 1941, in New York to nonobservant Jewish parents, Holbrooke attended Brown University (AB, 1962). Later, in 1969–1970, he spent a year as a mid-career fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.

Holbrooke began his working life as a Foreign Service Officer in Washington, DC, and served in a number of roles—in Vietnam between 1962 and 1966, at the Paris Peace Talks in 1967–1969, and in Morocco as director of the Peace Corps in 1970. In 1972 he resigned from the Foreign Service to become managing editor of the influential quarterly journal *Foreign Policy*, a position he held until 1976. During 1974–1975 he also served as a consultant to the President's Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, and was a contributing editor at *Newsweek* magazine. In 1976 he coordinated national security affairs for the Carter-Mondale presidential campaign.



Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state in the Clinton administration, was instrumental in forcing the various parties in the Bosnian War to the peace table, from which the Dayton Peace Accords were hammered out. This agreement, signed in November 1995, brought the war in Bosnia to an end. (AP Photo/Wilfredo Lee)

In 1977 he was appointed to the position of assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs in the government of U.S. president Jimmy Carter, during which time the United States established full diplomatic relations with China. He remained in this position until January 1981, after which he again left government in order to assume two new roles: first as senior adviser to the investment company Lehman Brothers, and then as vice president of Public Strategies, a consulting firm he cofounded. From 1985 to 1993, Holbrooke served as managing director of Lehman Brothers.

In 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed Holbrooke as U.S. ambassador to Germany—a position in which he stayed for only a short time, prior to his further appointment as assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian

affairs, between 1994 and 1996. (In accepting this position, he became the only person to assume the function of assistant secretary in two regional offices of the State Department.) His nomination was confirmed by the Senate on August 25, 1994.

Holbrooke led the effort to implement the post–Cold War policy of enlarging the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but his signal achievement was really his role in overseeing America’s contribution to bringing about the peace settlement that ended the Bosnian War in 1995. This resulted in the signing of the Dayton Agreement on November 21, 1995, and the Paris Protocol on December 14, 1995. These two agreements, though bringing peace, were controversial in that they appeared to reward the Bosnian Serbs territorially for having engaged in ethnic cleansing. Because of this, Holbrooke—seen by many as being the major architect of the settlement—was criticized in some quarters. He would later maintain that he had no qualms about negotiating with killers, if it meant that by doing so he could prevent the death of people still alive.

The Dayton Agreement was one of Holbrooke’s greatest diplomatic achievements. He insisted that the new Bosnia should be a properly constituted multiethnic state, despite the fact that it included within it a Serbian republic, Republika Srpska (which by no means saw itself as part of any new Bosnian state). Also, Holbrooke arranged, with Richard Goldstone, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, for indicted Bosnian Serb war criminals such as the radical Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, not to be allowed to attend the peace talks or be permitted entry to the United States. The Bosnian Serbs would therefore have to be represented by the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, which suited Holbrooke as he considered Milosevic a hard man (much as he was himself), with whom he could engage in straight talk. Although it meant dealing with a thoroughly immoral person responsible for countless human rights violations, Holbrooke felt the effort was worth it if it could save lives.

For his work as the prime mover behind the Dayton Agreement, Holbrooke received numerous awards as well as six Nobel Peace Prize nominations. His book dealing with Dayton, published in 1998, was titled *To End a War* and was judged one of the 10 best books of that year by the *New York Times*.

In 1996 he left the State Department to resume his career in merchant banking, but in 1997, at Clinton’s request, he reentered public life as a private citizen, serving as a presidential special envoy to Cyprus and the Balkans. During 1998 and 1999, Holbrooke then worked to end the conflict between the

armed forces of Serbia and the Kosovo Liberation Army. By March 1999, after numerous visits to Belgrade and one-on-one negotiations with Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, it was Holbrooke who conveyed the final offer of peace to the recalcitrant Serbian leader. The Kosovo Intervention, between March and June 1999, precipitated the NATO bombing campaign and a countercampaign of ethnic cleansing of the Kosovar Albanians by Milosevic, but almost certainly stopped a major genocidal outbreak.

On August 25, 1999, in the aftermath of the Kosovo Intervention, Clinton appointed Holbrooke as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, where he remained until his departure on January 20, 2001. One of his most important successes as ambassador was in negotiating a rapprochement between the United States and the world body, settling a number of long-standing tensions within the relationship including the United States' payment of back dues to the tune of US\$900 million. Also in 2001 he acted in an advisory capacity to the Council on Foreign Relations and was chairperson of its Terrorism Task Force.

During the presidential bid in 2004 of Senator John Kerry, Holbrooke served as Kerry's foreign policy adviser. It was no secret at this time that, had Kerry been successful, he probably would have handed the position of secretary of state to Holbrooke. This, however, was not to be Holbrooke's prize. Then, during Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for the Democratic nomination in 2008, he served on her team in the same capacity.

On January 22, 2009, while working back in the private sector, Holbrooke was appointed by President Barack Obama as U.S. special envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. He took an important role in U.S. and NATO negotiations for a settled peace in Afghanistan, and was pivotal in helping to develop the Obama administration's policy on the future of the country.

On December 11, 2010, during a meeting with Hillary Clinton at the State Department, Holbrooke fell ill and was taken to George Washington University Hospital. After 20 hours of emergency surgery to repair a tear in his aorta, Holbrooke died on December 13, 2010, from complications. Family members later affirmed that his last words, as he was being sedated prior to his surgery, were to his surgeon: "You've got to stop this war in Afghanistan."

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Clinton, Bill; Dayton Peace Accords; Milosevic, Slobodan; United States of America

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Holiday Inn Sarajevo

The Holiday Inn Sarajevo, a hotel belonging for most of its history to the Intercontinental Hotels group, was built for the 1984 XIV Winter Olympic games held in that city. It is a modern 10-story structure, incorporating conference rooms, shops, restaurants, and bars, and also houses corporate offices of other firms. During the siege of Sarajevo between 1992 and 1995, the Holiday Inn acted as a central location for journalists from the international news agencies covering the siege. Numerous international aid organizations and elements of the United Nations were also based there.

Unfortunately, the hotel was located on that stretch of road that became nicknamed “Sniper Alley,” on the major approach from Sarajevo’s western industrial suburbs to the city center. As one of the primary “no-go” areas leading to downtown, “Sniper Alley” was a road on which drivers were strongly discouraged to travel. Leaving the hotel was an exercise in survival. Anyone wishing to do so had to don helmets and flak jackets (if they had them), and had to run through a series of connecting tunnels to avoid getting shot by snipers.

During the war, the entire hotel was run on black market supplies, with food, oil for cooking and heating, water, and other necessary commodities brought in on foot—often via numerous subterfuges. Such food as could be obtained was often spoiled by the time it arrived. Fresh water was in such short supply that “luxuries” such as bathing were generally out of the question, while windows facing the hills were boarded up so as to keep casualties from sniper fire to a minimum.

The Holiday Inn stands on Zmaja od Bosne Street, right across from the former Bosnian parliament building—an edifice that was bombed mercilessly during the siege and remained a blackened shell. The Holiday Inn itself frequently came under sniper fire during the siege, as Bosnian Serb forces targeted the hotel as part of the broader campaign to reduce the city.

It was from the Holiday Inn that the first shots of the war were fired in the spring of 1992, when Serb paramilitaries shot into a mass demonstration of Bosnians rallying prior to democratic elections. On April 5, 1992, 100,000 people of all nationalities turned out for a peace rally in Sarajevo. From the seventh floor of the hotel, renegade Serb riflemen opened fire on the civilians in the crowd, killing six people and wounding several more.

The first casualties of the war, and the siege, were two women—one Bosniak, the other Croat—who were in the first row of the protesters on the Vrbanja Bridge when the shots rang out. Suada Dilberovic was a Bosniak medical student in her sixth year of study at the University of Sarajevo when the war broke out. Also killed in that barrage was an ethnic Croat, Olga Sucic. The location of their death, the Vrbanja Bridge, was later renamed in their honor.

The six Serb snipers alleged to have fired on the fateful day were arrested, but a prisoner exchange was then released when Serb paramilitaries captured the Bosniak commandant of the Sarajevo police academy. The Serbs were soon expelled from the hotel, however, and it remained in Bosniak hands for the duration of the war, guarded by UN troops. Due to its location and its role as the hub of world networking for those covering the Bosnian War, the hotel became a symbol of Sarajevo's resistance and refusal to capitulate.

The role of the Holiday Inn Sarajevo during the war was celebrated in the 1997 motion picture *Welcome to Sarajevo* (directed by Michael Winterbottom; produced by Graham Broadbent and Damian Jones), providing a representative snapshot of what life was like for the journalists who based themselves there throughout the siege. The hotel has now been fully restored and again forms an important part of the Sarajevo skyline.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Sarajevo, Siege of; Sniper Alley; United Nations Protection Force

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Hurd, Douglas

Lord Douglas Hurd, Baron Hurd of Westwell, is a British Conservative Party politician noted for his tenure as foreign secretary during the governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major, coinciding with the Bosnian War (1992–1995) and the Rwandan genocide (1994).

He was born in Marlborough, England, on March 8, 1930, to a family in which both his father and grandfather had been members of Parliament. Hurd attended Eton College and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated with a first class degree in history. He joined Britain's diplomatic service in 1952, receiving appointments to China, the United States, and Italy. He left the service in 1966 and worked for two years as a researcher in the Conservative Party. In 1968 Conservative Party leader Edward Heath invited him to manage his office, and when Heath became prime minister in 1970 Hurd served as his political secretary until February 1974, when he was himself elected as a member of Parliament. He remained an elected MP from then until he retired from the House in 1997.

With the Conservative victory of 1979, Hurd was appointed minister of state for Europe at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. After the 1983 election, Prime Minister Thatcher awarded him the position of home secretary, where he stayed for a year. He then became secretary of state for Northern Ireland (1984–1985), before returning to the Home Office (September 2, 1985), where he remained until October 26, 1989. On that date, Hurd moved back to the Foreign Office, replacing John Major. On November 27, 1990, when Major became Conservative leader and prime minister, he kept Hurd on as his foreign secretary.

It was as foreign secretary that Hurd made his mark as a British statesman. Among the events he had to confront within 18 months of Major's government assuming office were the aftermath of the end of the Cold War, the collapse of

the Soviet Union in 1991, the end of apartheid in South Africa, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, and the Gulf War of January–February 1991. He sought to build new relationships with the European Union (EU) and welcomed the establishment of a reunified Germany in 1990.

With the collapse of communism, however, Hurd had also to negotiate the instability this caused, particularly in the former Yugoslavia. Britain's policy during the war in Bosnia was largely directed by Hurd and Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind. Among European politicians, Hurd was viewed as a leading voice arguing against sending military aid to the Bosniaks, for fear of the war escalating even further and a negotiated settlement proving harder to reach. This type of thinking, rooted in traditional forms of diplomacy, did not fully appreciate the challenges of Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, and their ilk.

Hurd confronted the worst crimes in Europe since the Holocaust. In insisting on an arms embargo in 1992 and 1993, Hurd's policies prevented Bosnia from exercising its right of self-defense against massacre and rape. Western inaction through the European Union, led by Britain, was effectively a dual strategy of arms embargoes and emergency humanitarian assistance. Suggestions from his supporters that he was following public opinion in adopting a policy equating victims with aggressors do not seem to be borne out by opinion poll statistics, which saw more than two-thirds polled in April 1993 supporting the dispatch of British troops, and more than half wanting air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs in February 1994. In addition, Hurd also appeared to resist popular pressure to allow Bosnian refugees to enter Britain, arguing that doing so would lessen the incentive for the Bosnian government to sue for peace.

As foreign secretary, Hurd played an important role in assisting Prime Minister Major when it came to selecting a candidate to succeed Lord Peter Carrington as co-chairman of the European Union's Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia. In August 1992, Lord David Owen was chosen for this position.

Various diplomatic missions were established by the United Nations (UN) and the European Union to negotiate with the warring parties—particularly with Bosnian Serbs and the government of Yugoslavia—in an effort to establish a basis for peace. Owen and Cyrus Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state, were selected to lead a joint UN (Vance) and EU (Owen) negotiating process that was intended to convince the parties to try to reach a settlement. The intention of the resultant Vance-Owen peace plan, negotiated in January 1993, was to prepare a

map of Bosnia with internal borders that would be acceptable to Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. Since the military fronts fluctuated from day to day, however, it was initially impossible to arrive at a consensus. On June 18, 1993, Owen declared the plan dead. The significance of the Vance-Owen peace plan was that it was the last international initiative to favor a united Bosnia based on a shared civic consciousness. Henceforth, schemes put forward to try to bring peace concentrated on separating the warring parties through some form of partition.

While Hurd's attitude during the Bosnian War was one that sought to contain the conflict (effectively to the detriment of the Bosniaks), his attitude during the Rwandan genocide of 1994 seemed to be one of hopelessness. He was not convinced that maintaining a UN presence in the country, at least on the scale of the original UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), would be of much benefit to the situation, and did not consider they had much of a role to play in stopping the killing. When the British ambassador to the UN, Sir David Hannay, proposed that the UN reduce its force, there was no objection from Whitehall. Later, when a proposal came before the UN that 5,500 troops be despatched to help stop the massacres, the British position was that there needed to be a cease-fire before these troops could be deployed. Further, Britain (like the United States) took careful precautions to see to it that the word "genocide" was not used in official discourse to describe what was taking place in Rwanda, as doing so, it was believed, would oblige states to intervene.

On July 5, 1995, just days prior to the Bosnian Serb massacre of Bosniaks at Srebrenica, a cabinet reshuffle took place in Britain that saw Hurd retire from the front bench. He was replaced as foreign secretary by Malcolm Rifkind. Hurd then retired as an MP in 1997. Later that year he was created a life peer as Baron Hurd of Westwell, entitling him to remain in Parliament as a member of the House of Lords. Now an elder statesman of the Conservative Party, his old parliamentary seat of Witney has been held since 2005 by the current (as of this writing) British prime minister, David Cameron.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Milosevic, Slobodan; United Kingdom; Vance-Owen Peace Plan

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International Commission on Missing Persons

The International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) is an intergovernmental organization established in France in 1996. Its fundamental purpose has been to locate the whereabouts or the fate of those missing as a result of the wars accompanying the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, namely, Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, Kosovo in 1998–1999, and the crisis in Macedonia in 2001.

A good deal of ICMP's work is in the area of forensic identification of bodies located at mass gravesites where massacres have taken place, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Its Exhumations and Examination (E&E) program undertakes the detection of these sites; recovery and anthropological examination of human remains; and the use of scientific methods in order to compile a snapshot of how the victims were killed. The Identification Coordination Division takes responsibility for the collection of DNA samples from the relatives of those who are missing, and passes these on to the ICMP's laboratories for cross-matching with data collected by the E&E researchers.

The ICMP is also heavily involved in tracing those who are missing on account of war and genocide in the region, but whose fate is unknown; it thus acts as an investigative unit tracking down the missing and reuniting families. ICMP's activities, beyond those for which it is mandated, are many, and include consciousness-raising about missing persons, empowerment of those searching for their relatives, establishment of missing persons search networks, and representation of the interests of families to governments, other intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), and nongovernment organizations. The head office of the ICMP is located in Sarajevo, with other offices situated throughout several of the other countries of former Yugoslavia.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Srebrenica Massacre

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International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice (ICJ), which celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1996, is the legal arm of the United Nations (UN); it constitutes the highest court of appeal in cases of international law. The ICJ was called upon to deal with three important cases relating to the Yugoslav conflict, and its decisions have been regarded on each occasion as making a significant affirmation of international recognition of the authority of the Bosnian government in Sarajevo.

In March 1993 an action was brought by the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which the former alleged violation of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG), asking the court to order Yugoslavia to cease from acts of genocide and to cease supporting paramilitary/irregular forces engaged in similar acts in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It also challenged the international arms embargo initiated by UN Security Council Resolution 713 of September 1991, claiming that as a state it was entitled to seek support, including the necessary weapons, to defend itself. On April 8 the court declined to rule on the issue of the arms embargo, but it did make a provisional order regarding the protection of rights under the Genocide Convention, deferring a final decision on the matter. A second request for a protection order, filed in July, was heard on August 25–26. The court ruled on September 13 that its order of April 8 should be “immediately and effectively implemented.”

The court's response to the case was significant in that in recognizing the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina as lawfully constituted, it undermined the claim of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be the sole legal successor to the former socialist federation. The order also drew attention to the wording of the Genocide Convention, which places signatories under obligation to “prevent and punish” genocide as well as to abstain from it.

In the following year, the Yugoslav government responded by bringing a case in which it claimed that the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), by their decision of February 9 to respond positively to the UN request for airstrikes in support of Sarajevo, were infringing the charter of the UN by threatening to use force without the direct sanction of the Security Council. The defendant states on this occasion did not consent to the court's jurisdiction and the case was not heard. The outcome of these two cases indirectly paved the way for the use of air power by NATO forces later in the war.

Finally, in 1996, the ICJ returned to the case that had been brought by the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that alleged acts of genocide under the Genocide Convention; the court published its decision on July 11, 1996. The defense had advanced the case that Bosnia was not a party to the convention at the relevant time and therefore was not entitled to bring the claim. Yugoslavia also argued that there was no international dispute between itself and Bosnia-Herzegovina—that the conflict in question was an internal one and should be considered as a civil war to which Yugoslavia was not a party in a territory over which Yugoslavia had no jurisdiction. The court ruled against Yugoslavia on both of these counts. By reaching this decision, the court laid the groundwork for a succession of trials on charges relating to the Genocide Convention to be brought before the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague.

John B. Allcock

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; United Nations; Yugoslavia

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International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was established on May 23, 1993, by the United Nations (UN) Security Council in response to the violent breakup of the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. It was the first international tribunal of its kind since the International Military Tribunal (the Nuremberg tribunal) and the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (the Tokyo tribunal) in the wake of World War II.

The tribunal has a fourfold mission: to bring to justice individuals responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia; to bring justice to the victims; to deter future crimes; and to contribute to the restoration of peace in the Balkans by promoting reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia.

Beginning with Resolution 764 on July 13, 1992, the Security Council adopted a series of resolutions that would ultimately result in the establishment of the tribunal. The Security Council subsequently invoked its authority under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and directed all interested parties in the former Yugoslavia, and particularly those with military forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to comply with earlier resolutions demanding cease-fires. Violations of international humanitarian law continued and the Security Council requested that the secretary-general appoint a Commission of Experts to investigate violations of the law.

This five-member commission issued its report on February 9, 1993, concluding that international crimes had been committed in the former Yugoslavia “by means of murder, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, extra-judicial executions, rape and sexual assault, confinement of civilian population

in ghetto areas, forcible removal, displacement and deportation of civilian population, deliberate military attacks or threats of attacks on civilians and civilian areas, and wanton destruction of property.” The report concluded with a discussion of the possibility of establishing an ad hoc war crimes tribunal to try those responsible for the violations outlined in the report. Less than two weeks after the Commission of Experts report was issued, the Security Council passed Resolution 808 on February 22, 1993, which decided, in principle, to establish an ad hoc tribunal. Pursuant to this resolution, the secretary-general was directed to prepare a report on all aspects pertaining to the creation of such a tribunal and taking into account the suggestions of member states of the United Nations with respect to the effective and expeditious implementation of a tribunal.

The secretary-general’s report was submitted on May 3, 1993, and attached to the report was a draft statute for the tribunal. In this report, it was stressed that “in assigning to the International Tribunal the task of prosecuting persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law, the Security Council would not be creating or purporting to ‘legislate’ that law. Rather, the International Tribunal would have the task of applying existing international humanitarian law.” Thus, it was clear from the outset that the tribunal would be further refining and developing the body of law pronounced upon at Nuremberg and Tokyo some 50 years earlier. Within three weeks of receiving the secretary-general’s report, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 827 on May 23, 1993, establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. The tribunal sits in The Hague, Netherlands.

The ICTY has jurisdiction over crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia from January 1, 1991, to a date to be determined in the future by the Security Council. Four crimes fall within the competence of the tribunal: genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and grave breaches of the four 1949 Geneva Conventions. The tribunal has primacy over national courts in the sense that it may request a state to defer prosecution and transfer an accused to The Hague for trial.

The tribunal has jurisdiction over individuals (not organizations, political parties, or other entities) and may prosecute persons who have “planned, instigated, ordered, committed or otherwise aided and abetted in the planning, preparation or execution” of a crime for which it has jurisdiction. In addition, superiors—whether military or otherwise—may be prosecuted and punished for crimes committed by their subordinates if the superior knew or had reason to know that a crime was about to be committed or had been committed by the

subordinate, and the superior failed to take the necessary and reasonable steps to prevent the crime or to punish the perpetrator. The fact that a head of state or government allegedly committed the crimes neither relieves the person of criminal responsibility nor mitigates the punishment. While a person may not escape criminal liability on the grounds that he or she was acting pursuant to an order of a superior, this factor may be taken into consideration in mitigation of punishment if the judges determine that justice requires such mitigation.

Pursuant to the Statute of the tribunal, the judges are empowered to adopt the Rules of Procedure and Evidence. The Rules are a hybrid of the common law and civil law traditions and take into account both the rights of the accused and measures for the protection of victims and witnesses. The Statute and Rules guarantee the accused fundamental human rights. These rights include the right to a fair and expeditious trial, the right to remain silent throughout the proceedings, the right to be represented by defense counsel (at the tribunal's expense in the event of indigency), the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, and the right to an interpreter in the event that he or she does not understand one of the working languages of the tribunal (English and French).

The tribunal is composed of three organs: the Chambers, the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP), and the Registry. Originally, there were 11 judges in the Chambers, but due to the growth of the tribunal the Chambers currently consist of 25 permanent and *ad litem* judges. The 16 permanent judges are assigned to either one of the Trial Chambers or the Appeals Chamber. The permanent judges of the ICTY elect the president of the tribunal from among their ranks.

A pool of 27 *ad litem* judicial positions was created in November 2000 to increase the efficient operation of the tribunal and to expedite the trials to achieve a more efficient operation of the tribunal. Of this pool, a maximum of nine *ad litem* judges may sit at any one given time. The first group of six *ad litem* judges arrived in September 2001. The *ad litem* judges sit on the Trial Chambers only and are precluded from participating in the pretrial phase of the cases.

There are three Trial Chambers that are each broken down into two sections with three judges sitting on each section. There are no jury trials; rather, the three Trial Chamber judges sit as triers of both fact and law. Seven judges are assigned to the Appeals Chamber, although five judges sit on each appeal. The Appeals Chamber also hears appeals emanating from the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in order to ensure the consistent development of international humanitarian law.

The Prosecutor is also the chief prosecutor for the ICTR. The office consists of two primary divisions, the Prosecution Division and the Investigations Division, as well as several other sections, covering appeals, international law, and evidence. The Office of the Prosecutor is responsible for investigating and prosecuting the crimes that fall within the jurisdiction of the tribunal. The current prosecutor is Serge Brammertz; previous prosecutors have been Ramon Escovar Salom of Venezuela (1993–1994), Richard Goldstone of South Africa (1994–1996), Louise Arbour of Canada (1996–1999), Eric Ostberg of Sweden, and Carla Del Ponte of Switzerland (1999–2007), who also served as the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda until 2003.

The third organ is the Registry, which provides administrative support to the other organs. These support services include translation and interpretation, finance, personnel, security, building maintenance, and relations with the host state, the Netherlands. It also encompasses two specialized legal support units, one for the judges and one for the tribunal as a whole.

On May 7, 1997, Dusko Tadic was the first individual to be convicted by the ICTY. Since then, the tribunal has indicted 161 individuals and has completed proceedings with regard to 126 of these. The ICTY acquitted 13 individuals, transferred 13 cases to local courts, and sentenced 64 individuals (1 individual is awaiting transfer, 26 have been transferred, 34 have served their term, and 3 died while serving their sentences). Another 36 cases have been terminated either because indictments were withdrawn or because of the death of the accused. The ICTY has entered into agreements with a number of states for the incarceration of individuals convicted by the Trial Chamber. Such persons are transferred to these states once the appeals process has run its course. Persons awaiting trial or undergoing an appeal are detained at the United Nations Detention Unit in Scheveningen, a short distance from the seat of the tribunal.

It was hoped that the ICTY would have completed the trial process of all those indicted by the end of 2008, with all appeals completed by the end of 2010. This was, however, extended in order to pursue currently pending warrants of leading indictees, such as Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

Daryl A. Mundis

See also: Arbour, Louise; Concentration Camps; Del Ponte, Carla; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Milosevic, Slobodan; Rape Camps

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Izetbegovic, Alija

Alija Izetbegovic was the first president of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He held office from 1990 to 1996, a period traversing the last days of communist rule in united Yugoslavia and the establishment of the independent Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was born on August 8, 1925, in Bosanski Samac, a town in northern Bosnia. During World War II, he was a member of a Bosnian Islamic organization called *Mladi Muslimani*, or Young Muslims. This organization was a youth-oriented party of Islamic renewal that helped refugees. The aftermath of the war saw him graduate in law from the University of Sarajevo. The imposition of the communist regime of Josip Broz Tito, however, which suppressed ethnic and religious distinctiveness, saw Izetbegovic arrested in 1946 and jailed for three years.



Alija Izetbegovic oversaw Bosnia's Declaration of Independence in 1992 and then steered the country throughout the war that followed. One of the three signatories to the Dayton Peace Accords in November 1995, he remained in power until October 2000, when he retired. He is seen by many Bosniaks as the father of his country. (Department of Defense)

Upon his release, he began to work tirelessly for Muslim rights within the Yugoslav state. In 1970 he published a manifesto titled *The Islamic Declaration*, which again reinforced his Islamic fidelity. The book was banned by the communist government; Izetbegovic's opponents would later look at this work as an affirmation of his Muslim fundamentalism—and thus, by extension, of Islamic extremism.

Although Tito died in 1980, the repression of religious and ethnic separateness continued, and in April 1983 Izetbegovic, along with several others, was again imprisoned, this time sentenced to 14 years in jail. In May 1984 the sentence was reduced to 12 years, and in 1988, he was pardoned after a drawn-out appeals process and released after almost 5 years in prison.

By then, Izetbegovic had become the de facto leader of Bosnia's Muslims. In 1989 he was instrumental in establishing the *Stranka Demokratske Akcije* (Party of Democratic Action, or SDA). While this was not specifically a Muslim party, it was nonetheless a party that attracted the largest following among Muslims. At elections that year, the SDA won the largest share of the vote and 33 percent of the seats, and in a complicated constitutional atmosphere (and amid much political jockeying), Izetbegovic became president of the Bosnian republic within the Yugoslav federation. As Yugoslavia then began to unravel through the early 1990s, Izetbegovic looked to Bosnia's interests in the rapidly changing environment. In mid-February 1992, he arranged a referendum on Bosnia's independence; on February 29, 1992, he declared Bosnia's independence from Yugoslavia, to take effect as from April 7. The day before this, however, Bosnian Serb and Yugoslav forces crossed into Bosnia with the intention of bringing the new country back into the federation, and the Bosnian War began.

The war for the partition of Bosnia was fought so ferociously that it became a three-way war of atrocities and counteratrocities, involving Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia/Serbia, Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, and Izetbegovic. The vicious warfare that followed resulted in the death of up to 250,000 Bosnian civilians and the worst massacres in Europe since the end of World War II (most notoriously, the Serb massacre of some 8,000 Bosniak men and boys at Srebrenica in July 1995). The war's most notorious expression came in the form of what became known as "ethnic cleansing," a term used to denote any attempt to force minorities off their lands.

During the war, ethnic cleansing became a substitute for genocide in popular discourse, as mass killings proliferated throughout Bosnia. Military offensives to drive out minority populations intensified with the formation of paramilitary units, as more and more emphasis was placed on killing as a means of ensuring that those displaced would never return. In other words, genocide presented itself as the most efficient way of ridding oneself of an unwanted minority. Typically, the policy of ethnic cleansing would begin with the harassment of local citizens of an unwanted group, who could be terrorized and intimidated, often in fear of their lives, to leave their homes. Such terror could include torture, rape, beatings, and mutilation, and extend to murder and even mass murder as an example to the wider population. Once an area had been "cleansed" of its unwanted population, the perpetrators moved in their own people, and altered the character of the region as though the original owners had never existed; in this way, they laid claim to the region as of right, with no one able to

claim preexisting title through prior occupation. Genocidal violence characterized the Bosnian Serb tactics to destroy the entire Muslim population in Srebrenica and other UN-designated “safe areas.”

Throughout the war, Izetbegovic strove hard to retain Bosnia’s territorial integrity in the face of invasion, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, fighting three and sometimes four enemies at once. He consistently promoted the idea of a multiethnic Bosnia (an ideal that has become Izetbegovic’s major legacy down to today), but waging war to guarantee Bosnia’s survival was at no stage something he could achieve without foreign intervention and a negotiated settlement.

The Srebrenica genocide of July 1995 was a turning point. In August 1995, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air forces launched an intensive bombing campaign against Bosnian Serb positions around Sarajevo and other cities, which permitted the Bosniak and Croat armies to go on the offensive against the Serbs. A cease-fire between all parties followed, with a peace treaty negotiated at Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, under the supervision of the United States. This was to a large degree brokered by U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke at the instigation of President Bill Clinton.

Izetbegovic remained in power until October 2000, when he retired at the age of 74. As president of Bosnia throughout the war, he held office between March 3, 1992, and March 14, 1996. He then immediately became president of post-Dayton independent Bosnia, where he remained until his retirement. A hero of the Bosniak people, he was (and remains) recognized as the father of Bosnian independence. He died on October 19, 2003, aged 78, and was buried in Sarajevo.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosniaks; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Karadzic, Radovan; Milosevic, Slobodan; Srebrenica Massacre; Tudjman, Franjo

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J

Jankovic, Gojko

Gojko Jankovic was the leader of a Bosnian Serb military unit during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. Indicted and tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), in February 2007, he was found guilty of participating in a widespread and systematic attack of the army, police, and paramilitary formations on the non-Serb civilian population of Foca between April 1992 and November 1993.

Born on October 31, 1954, in Trbusce (within the municipality of Foca), Jankovic was a former café owner who later became a deputy commander of Foca's Bosnian Serb military police. It was while serving in this capacity that the offenses alleged against him took place.

In July 1992, Jankovic commanded a group of soldiers who attacked Bosniak civilians hiding in the forest in the vicinity of Kremnik. Many of these people were gathered together, and it was subsequently alleged that between July 3 and July 13, 1992, at least 72 Bosniaks from the Foca municipality were detained in two classrooms in the Foca High School. These included women, children, and the elderly. On July 13, 1992, they were transferred from there to Foca's Partizan Sports Hall, which then functioned as a detention center until mid-August 1992.

Partizan was transformed almost immediately into a brutal rape center, where a carefully orchestrated pattern of sexual assault took place. Already during the detention at Foca High School many of the female detainees had been subjected to sexual abuse, but at Partizan, heavily armed soldiers, in small groups of three to five, would enter, select women for rape, and take them to nearby houses, apartments, or hotels. When the women resisted or hid, the soldiers would beat them in order to force their compliance.

Around August 13, 1992, most of those imprisoned detainees at Partizan were released and deported by convoy to Montenegro, where they were able to receive medical care for the first time. Throughout this period, and into January 1993, Jankovic raped female detainees and, together with a coaccused, Dragoljub Kunarac, he kept two of them in sexual slavery.

After the end of the war in 1995, Jankovic was indicted by the ICTY alongside seven other members of the Bosnian Serb forces responsible for the atrocities at Foca. According to the indictment, Jankovic and another coaccused, Dragan Zelenovic, were deputy commanders of the military police and the main paramilitary leaders at Foca, and thus bore both individual and command responsibility for the events that took place there. Jankovic was charged with seven counts of violations of the laws or customs of war (torture and rape) and seven counts of crimes against humanity (torture and rape). On March 13, 2005, he surrendered voluntarily and was transferred to the custody of the ICTY the next day. He made his initial appearance before the tribunal on March 18, 2005, and appeared again on April 15, 2005. He pleaded not guilty to all counts of the indictment.

On July 22, 2005, the Referral Bench of the ICTY decided that Jankovic's case should be referred to the War Crimes Chamber of the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so he could stand trial there. The case was duly referred on November 15, 2005, and on December 8 the same year, Jankovic was transferred to the custody of the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His trial began on April 21, 2006.

On February 16, 2007, the Trial Panel found that as a leader of a military unit within the Foca brigade of the Bosnian Serb army, Jankovic participated in a widespread and systematic attack of the army, police, and paramilitary formations on the non-Serb civilian population of the Foca municipality between April 1992 and November 1993. He was found guilty of murdering, torturing, and raping Bosniak and Croat civilians in Foca across the same period. In a sentence amounting to the longest handed down by Bosnia's War Crimes Chamber since its establishment in March 2005, he was sentenced to a prison term of 34 years. After an appeal, the Appeals Panel of the War Crimes Chamber upheld the sentence on November 20, 2007, though the court acquitted Jankovic of one of the rape charges.

Further attempts to reduce his sentence, order the Bosnian state court to retry the case, or have it returned to the ICTY for a new trial, were rejected by that tribunal on June 22, 2010. At the same time, the ICTY confirmed the original sentence, with no further action to be taken.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Foca; Rape Camps; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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Jashari, Adem

Adem Jashari was born in the village of Donji Prekaz, in the Drenica region of Kosovo, on November 28, 1955. For some people, he was a Kosovar Albanian terrorist, responsible for the murder of Serbian officials and police; to others, he was a freedom fighter who founded the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and whose actions and subsequent death are worthy of recognition in the annals of martyrdom for Kosovo independence.

Growing up on age-old stories of liberation struggles waged by Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, as a young man Jashari was rarely seen without a gun. In 1991, he was known frequently to cross the Kosovo-Albanian border in order to participate in armed actions against the Serbian police. At one point he and others decided to move to Albania for military training, which would lead later to the establishment of the KLA.

After this, Jashari and his comrades committed several acts of sabotage against the Serb administrative apparatus, to such a degree that by December 30, 1991, Serbian police surrounded Jashari and his older brother Hamez at home in Prekaz, in an unsuccessful attempt to capture or kill them. In the siege that followed, large numbers of armed and unarmed people from the district rushed to Prekaz in support of the Jasharis, effectively breaking the siege and forcing the Serbian police to consider Prekaz a "no-go" area. Over the next several years the Jasharis participated in numerous actions against the Serbian army and police.

In July 1997 a Yugoslav court convicted Adem Jashari in absentia of terrorism, and on January 22, 1998, Serbian forces once more tried to assault the Jashari compound at Prekaz. Jashari was not home, but the men who were there drove away the attackers. The next day, as in the past, thousands of supporters descended on the village from the surrounding Drenica region, and again the Serb police and military were forced to retreat. For the Serbs, the challenge

posed by ongoing Jashari recalcitrance and violence had become too much to bear, and it was openly acknowledged that a final reckoning would have to be made if the ongoing disgrace posed to Serb authority was to be stopped.

Still, Jashari and his KLA guerrillas maintained their pressure, completely unintimidated by the thought of Serb countermeasures. On February 28, 1998, a small KLA unit led by Jashari was ambushed by a Serbian police patrol near Likosane. In the fighting, four Serb police officers were killed and two were severely wounded.

At dawn on March 5, 1998, the KLA launched another attack on a police patrol in Prekaz, and on this occasion, by way of response, a full-scale Serb revenge mission was organized. The police and army now used tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery, and helicopters to lay siege to the villages identified as KLA strongholds, such as Likosane and Cirez. KLA fighters and their families were forced to retreat to Jashari's compound. The police initially invited Jashari to surrender, giving him a deadline of two hours in which to respond, and during this time a number of people left the compound. After the expiration of the deadline, the shooting began. In one of the houses, where most of Jashari's extended family had gathered in a single room, a mortar shell fell through the roof, resulting in a considerable loss of life. The shelling continued for nearly two days, and Jashari, his brother Hamez, and 51 other family members were killed. Eighteen were women, and 10 were children under the age of 16.

To Kosovar Albanians, Adem Jashari became a symbol of independence, his eight-year armed struggle leading a family fiercely devoted to the fight for independence and ready to give their lives for the cause. The family home in Donji Prekaz has since been converted into a shrine, and the anniversary of his death is recalled throughout Kosovo each year. As a leading KLA commander in the Drenica operation zone, his fight—and ultimate demise in the Prekaz massacre—precipitated events that would eventually lead to the 1999 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) war against Serbia and the separation of Kosovo later that year. In 2008, after Kosovo's declaration of independence on February 17, Jashari was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of Kosovo," his contribution acknowledged as vital in the overall chronology of events.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Albania; Kosovo Liberation Army; Racak Massacre

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Jelusic, Goran

Goran Jelusic is a Bosnian Serb war criminal who was convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for crimes against humanity and war crimes. Born in Bijeljina, Bosnia, on June 7, 1968, he was raised in the town of Brcko and became a mechanic working with farm machinery. So far as anyone can tell, he did not exhibit any overtly violent tendencies until the onset of war in 1992 brought about a change in his behavior that led to him committing a number of major crimes against humanity against Bosniaks in and around the Brcko vicinity.

The small city of Brcko, with a population of some 41,000, is located on the Sava River in northeastern Bosnia, on the Croatian border. When war broke out in early April 1992, about 55 percent of the population was Muslim. In view of the city's geographical location, it was always likely to be a bone of contention, and conflict began early. On April 30, 1992, two explosions destroyed bridges spanning the Sava River after local Serbs had demanded that the town be split into three sectors, Croat, Bosniak, and Serb. Some consider this event the beginning of Brcko's war.

The next day, radio broadcasts ordered the Muslim and Croat inhabitants of Brcko to surrender their arms. Serb forces, comprised of soldiers, paramilitaries, and police, were deployed within the town and began targeting the non-Serbian population with the intention of clearing them out. In what seemed to be a systematic process, each neighborhood was combed thoroughly, and all the inhabitants were directed to collection centers where Bosniaks and Croats were separated from Serbs. Bosniak and Croat women, children, and men over 60 were evacuated from the city; men between 16 and 60 were held in collection centers. Starting on May 7, nearly all the Bosniaks and some of the Croats, including several women who had been held back from the initial evacuation,

were transferred to a camp that had been set up at Luka, a makeshift detention site consisting of a series of warehouses in a former port facility on the river.

Hundreds of people were detained at Luka in May 1992, in inhumane and degrading living conditions. Prisoners were severely beaten, humiliated, and forced to sexually abuse one another, and female detainees were raped, often repeatedly. Death was common. Paradoxically, there is also evidence that from time to time some prisoners managed to obtain release.

During this period, Goran Jelusic, wearing clothes that allowed him to pass as a police officer at Brcko police headquarters and Luka camp, committed the crimes for which he was later convicted. There is no evidence that he actually was a police officer, or that he belonged formally to any military or paramilitary unit. At Luka camp, however, individuals without any official standing, if they were known locally, could come and go without hindrance, and participate in camp activities. Jelusic was one such person.

Throughout most of May and into June 1992, Jelusic was certainly a presence at Luka. To say he was “on duty” at the camp, given his status, is something of a misnomer, but he acted as though he was a guard, with literally the power of life and death over those incarcerated there. Particularly during one two-week period, Jelusic was said to have entered Luka’s main hall, selected detainees for violent interrogation, and then executed them, their bodies thrown into the nearby Sava River. To the prisoners he took delight in calling himself the “Serbian Adolf,” and made highly discriminatory and degrading remarks to them as a matter of course. It is alleged that at one point he told his captives he had gone to the camp in order to kill Muslims. He was known to hit out indiscriminately, without regard for the prisoners’ sex or degree of vulnerability. His interrogations were often a pretext for violence resulting in death. He frequently carried out his murders execution style, using a “Skorpion” submachine gun firing one or two bullets to the back of a kneeling victim’s neck. It is alleged that he bragged to his victims that he had to kill 20 or 30 Muslims before he could enjoy his morning coffee.

While the rest of his activities for the rest of the war are largely unknown to the public record, what is known is that on July 21, 1995, before the war was over, Jelusic was indicted by the ICTY for crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide, with a warrant issued for his arrest. Pursuant to this, he was apprehended on January 22, 1998, by a team of U.S. Navy SEALs acting as part of the postwar North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Stabilization Force (SFOR) sent to secure the area. He was transferred immediately to the ICTY’s

detention unit in The Hague, to face trial for 1 count of genocide, 16 counts of violating the customs of war (war crimes), and 15 counts of crimes against humanity for his involvement in the inhumane treatment and systematic killing of detainees. At his first appearance before the court on January 26, 1998, he pleaded not guilty to all charges.

On October 29, 1998, in a further appearance, Jelusic pleaded not guilty to genocide, but guilty to the counts relating to crimes against humanity and war crimes. This plea bargaining came as the result of discussions between prosecution and defense attorneys, leading the trial to commence in its own right on November 30, 1998. It was adjourned shortly after for various reasons, and resumed only on August 30, 1999. Once under way a second time, however, it proceeded rapidly, such that on October 19, 1999, the Trial Chamber pronounced its oral judgment, with a written statement to follow.

Notwithstanding Jelusic's plea-bargain arrangement, the judges were required to make a ruling on the genocide charge, and upon consideration the Trial Chamber concluded that the prosecutor had not proven the sufficient elements required to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that Jelusic had planned, incited, ordered, or otherwise participated with the intent of destroying, in whole or in part, the Bosnian Muslim population as a national, ethnic, or religious group. Consequently, he was acquitted of the charge of genocide. If the prosecution's case had been successful it would have seen the first verdict relating to genocide from the ICTY.

The Trial Chamber did, however, find Jelusic guilty on all of the remaining 31 counts in the indictment relating to crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Judgment having been passed, on December 14, 1999, Jelusic was sentenced to 40 years' imprisonment. Both sides appealed the sentence: the prosecution against acquittal on the genocide count, and Jelusic against the harshness of the sentence owing to the fact that he had already plead guilty. On July 5, 2001, the ICTY Appeals Chamber dismissed Jelusic's appeal and affirmed the original decision. The sentence of 40 years' imprisonment was the harshest handed down by the ICTY to that point.

On May 29, 2003, Jelusic was transferred to Italy to serve his sentence, with time served granted for the period he had been in detention since 1998.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Concentration Camps; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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K

Kandic, Natasa

Natasa Kandic is a Serbian human rights advocate who has documented abuses throughout the wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. She was born in 1946 in Kragujevac, Serbia, and after studying sociology at university became a dissident under the regime of Josip Broz Tito, having developed a passion for the promotion of human rights. She spent several years working with the trade union movement in Belgrade on issues relating to worker housing, and in 1992 she founded Belgrade's Humanitarian Law Center (*Fond za Humanitarno pravo*). The center now employs a staff of 70 lawyers, documenting the atrocities committed during the Balkan wars that took place between 1991 and 1999.

She has constantly protested the torture, rape, and murder committed by the warring factions in the conflict that devastated the former Yugoslavia throughout the decade, and in doing so has earned the hatred of her fellow Serbs and military leaders throughout the region. Though frequently labeled a Serb traitor by those at home, she has campaigned for the rights of *all* groups and *all* minorities in times of conflict, not simply those deemed to have been targets by the Serbs during the Balkan wars.

The Humanitarian Law Center is well known for its meticulous investigative work, and its research has been utilized by other international bodies such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The Center also represents victims before international tribunals, providing legal assistance to refugees for land claims, citizenship, the right of return, pension payments, and property ownership rights. Over a lengthy period during the 1990s, Kandic engaged in a number of imaginative initiatives, such as the Candles for Peace campaign in 1991, where citizens stood with flames alight outside the Serbian presidential building nightly, reading the names of those killed during the war. She organized a petition that collected 78,000 signatures protesting the forced conscription of Serbians into the war in Croatia, and in 1992 she organized the Black Ribbon March, which saw 150,000 citizens of Belgrade demonstrate against the suffering of civilians in Bosnia's capital city of Sarajevo, then under siege at the hands of the Bosnian Serbs.

In Sid, a town and municipality in the Srem District of Vojvodina, Kandic was investigating a mass killing that took place during the Kosovo conflict of 1999 when she first learned of the existence of a videotape made by the Bosnian Serb militia unit known as the Scorpions in July 1995. This tape, she discovered, chronicled on film the activities of one Scorpion detachment, from the time its members were blessed by their priest until they carried out the murder of six young Bosniaks (two of whom were only 17 years of age) near the village of Trnovo after the fall of the eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica. The film showed how the Scorpions could be seen laughing, smoking, and taunting their captives, and how the victims were forced to lie down with their hands tied behind their backs before being shot in the back by their captors. The footage circulated for a decade among members of the Scorpions and Serb nationalist groups, and, it was said, could even be rented in video clubs in Sid.

Kandic learned that originally some 20 copies had been made, but that they had allegedly all been destroyed on the order of the Scorpion commanding officer when the war turned against the Bosnian Serbs later in 1995. One former member of the unit, however, made an extra copy for himself. It was this copy that Kandic eventually managed to track down in Bosnia, in 2003, after he had contacted her. Upon obtaining it, she passed it on to the ICTY. She also forwarded it to television stations in Serbia, in the hope that it would be aired as part of the self-examination and healing process following the downfall of Slobodan Milosevic in 2000.

On June 2, 2005, the video was broadcast on Serbian television. People were shocked by what they saw, as many until then were still of the opinion that the 1995 massacre was an unsubstantiated rumor, something that never actually happened. After it was shown on television, the videotape made a significant impact on Serbian public opinion owing to its presentation of evidence created by the perpetrators themselves. It also led to the immediate identification of one of the victims by his family, who were watching the program that night. Later, it became an important part of the case against Milosevic during his trial at the ICTY. The day after the video was broadcast, Serbian police rounded up eight Scorpion suspects, while a ninth was later detained in Croatia. Serbian prime minister Vojislav Kostunica called the executions brutal, callous, and disgraceful, thereby helping to facilitate the process of Serbia coming to terms with its past.

A much-decorated advocate for human dignity and justice for all, Natasa Kandic has won the admiration of human rights defenders throughout the world.

In 2003 she was listed by *Time* magazine as one of 36 European heroes, and in 2005 was proclaimed an honorary citizen of the city of Sarajevo. At the same time *Slobodna Bosna* magazine named her Person of the Year in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In September 2006, Kandic became a member of the Order of Danica Hrvatska, awarded by the president of Croatia to individuals who have made a significant contribution to the advancement of moral values.

Taken overall, it can be said that Natasa Kandic has consistently spoken out against repression and bigotry in all its forms. Her goal has been to press governments throughout the Balkan region to shoulder their responsibility and bring war criminals to justice, along the way ensuring that the many victims on all sides of the conflicts have a voice.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Sarajevo, Siege of; Scorpions

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Karadzic, Radovan

Radovan Karadzic is a former Bosnian Serb leader who was president of the entity called Republika Srpska between April 7, 1992, and July 19, 1996. Born on June 19, 1945, in Petnjica, a village in northern Montenegro in the municipality of Berane, his father had been a Serb patriot, or Chetnik, and anticommunist who fought against Josip Broz Tito's partisans during World War II. In 1960 Karadzic moved to Sarajevo, where he became a student at the University of Sarajevo's medical school. His chosen field was psychiatry, but he was also of a highly creative, literary disposition, and enjoyed writing poetry. As a poet, he came under the influence of the Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic, a Serb nationalist writer (later the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), who convinced Karadzic to enter the world of politics.



Radovan Karadzic consulting with one of his lawyers at The Hague during a tribunal where he is charged with genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Karadzic was the president of Republika Srpska from 1992 to 1996, and his policies of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia led to untold suffering for millions. (AP Photo/Robin van Lonkhuijsen)

In 1989 he was a founder of a pro-Serbian nationalist party, the *Srpska Demokratska Stranka* (Serbian Democratic Party, or SDS). The main intention of the SDS was to rally all Serbs in Bosnia (and later, Croatia) into a single community that would work to remain within Yugoslavia should Bosnia or Croatia decide to break away from the Federal Republic in the future. The major goal of the party, therefore, was the establishment of what would become a Greater Serbia. The SDS was anticommunist, heavily influenced by the Serbian Orthodox Church, and capitalist in its economic inclination. From Belgrade, it was supported by Slobodan Milosevic, the ultranationalist president of Serbia.

In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally declared their independence from the Yugoslav Federation, initiating the Balkan wars that were to dominate the region for the next four years. Macedonia declared its independence in September 1991. By way of response, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a separate Serb Assembly was established on October 24, 1991, in order to represent the Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Several Serb districts declared their autonomy and their allegiance to the Serb-dominated federal government, which led to armed conflict breaking out between Serbs and non-Serbs. Karadzic rejected proposals that Bosnia-Herzegovina follow the other republics on the independence route, and withdrew the SDS from the ruling coalition. At a closed referendum among Bosnian Serbs held in November 1991, most voted to remain part of Yugoslavia, and on January 9, 1992, the Bosnian Serb Assembly proclaimed the Republic of the Serb people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the aftermath of the Bosnian declaration of independence from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992, Karadzic declared the Serb sections of the country independent, under the name Republika Srpska, or Serbian Republic. Karadzic was voted as president in Pale, in the mountains overlooking Sarajevo, on May 13, 1992. Backed by Milosevic, he then waged a murderous war against the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. It was Karadzic who orchestrated the three-year-long siege of Bosnia's capital city, Sarajevo. Day after day, he ordered a barrage of artillery to rain on the defenseless city. From his headquarters in Pale, Karadzic ordered the systematic destruction of historic

Muslim targets such as the National Library, not to mention the killing of unarmed civilians congregated in open-air markets. His most egregious crime was the offensive he ordered in 1995 against the six so-called “safe areas” under United Nations (UN) protection (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Bihac). In the worst of these, and in full view, Karadzic’s senior military officer, General Ratko Mladic, fell on the city of Srebrenica. Systematically, militias and troops from the Army of Republika Srpska (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, or VRS), the Bosnian Serb army, captured as many men and boys between the ages of 10 and 65 as they could find, led them out of the city, and killed them in the surrounding hills, burying them in mass graves. The women and children of Srebrenica were sent outside the borders of Republika Srpska. This was one of the most blatant acts of genocide, in the context of the Yugoslav wars, for which Milosevic was held accountable indirectly, and in which Karadzic was the primary executor.

After this, however—and possibly because of it—the position of the Bosnian Serbs began to deteriorate, as international opinion turned against them, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) general Sir Rupert Smith started a campaign determined to bring this rogue army to heel. On August 4, 1995, Karadzic announced he was removing Mladic from command, and taking command of the VRS himself, though popular pressure forced him to overturn this order a few days later.

The worst effects of the siege of Sarajevo ended in mid-September 1995, when the Bosnian Serbs, under pressure, agreed to withdraw their heavy weapons. The conflict had seen approximately 10,000 people killed, including over 1,500 children.

On November 21, 1995, the war came to an end when Milosevic, Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, and Croatian president Franjo Tudjman signed the Dayton Agreement in the United States. Through this action, Milosevic effectively abandoned Karadzic, who was not permitted to attend in person by the government of U.S. president Bill Clinton on the grounds that he had, by that stage, been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

On July 11, 1996, Karadzic and Mladic were indicted jointly by the ICTY at The Hague on 16 counts, including genocide; crimes against humanity (extermination; murder; persecutions on political, racial, and religious grounds; and other inhumane acts, namely, forcible transfer because of religious or national identity); and war crimes (murder, unlawfully inflicting terror upon

civilians, taking hostages, and willful killing). This indictment did not stop him from becoming the sole president of Republika Srpska on July 19, 1996 (and therefore supreme commander of the armed forces), but as an indicted war criminal he was banned from standing for parliament and pressured into relinquishing his government and party positions. He was succeeded as president by Biljana Plavsic.

He then went into hiding and remained a fugitive from 1996 until his arrest in Belgrade on July 21, 2008. When he was finally caught, Karadzic was found living under a heavy disguise, working as an alternative medicine practitioner in Belgrade. With a false name, long, bushy beard, and glasses, he was barely recognizable. After a few days in the custody of the Belgrade war crimes court he was transferred into ICTY custody at The Hague on July 30, 2008. He appeared before Judge Alphons Orie the next day, when he was formally charged with one count of genocide, one count of complicity in genocide, four counts of war crimes, and five counts of crimes against humanity.

Karadzic attended the hearing without the assistance of counsel, informing the court that he intended to represent himself. At a second court appearance on August 29, 2008, he refused to enter a plea of guilty or not guilty. Finally, on March 3, 2009, Trial Chamber III entered a plea of not guilty on his behalf after he refused to enter a plea to new charges brought against him in a third amended indictment.

The trial began on October 26, 2009, with opening statements from the prosecution. Claiming that he had not had enough time to prepare his defense, Karadzic declared that he would boycott the trial and failed to appear. In the absence of the accused or anyone to defend him, Trial Judge O-Gon Kwon had no option but to suspend the case for 24 hours. The prosecution began its opening statement the next day. On November 5, 2009, the court forcibly imposed a lawyer on him and postponed his trial until March 1, 2010. On November 26, 2009, however, Karadzic challenged the legal validity and legitimacy of the tribunal, though this was rejected. The trial duly resumed on March 1, 2010, when Karadzic decided to attend and present his opening statement.

A month later, on April 1, 2010, Karadzic again told the tribunal that he would represent himself, and once more refused to recognize the charges or the legitimacy of the court. He denied all charges against him. By these constant delaying tactics, Karadzic was able to hold up the progress of the trial, stalling in the hope that a more favorable outcome could be won. His case was not helped,

however, by the capture of Ratko Mladic on May 26, 2011, though how that might affect Karadzic's trial is as yet uncertain.

At the time of this writing, the case of Radovan Karadzic is still proceeding at the ICTY in The Hague.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Mladic, Ratko; Republika Srpska; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre

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Kenney, George

George Kenney is a Washington-based writer on matters of important foreign policy interest and was formerly deputy chief, and then acting chief, of the Yugoslav desk in the U.S. Department of State.

Born in what was then the French territory of Algiers in 1956 to a family serving in the U.S. Foreign Service, he was raised in a variety of locations in the United States, Africa, and Europe. After attending graduate school at the University of Chicago, he followed in his family's footsteps and also joined the Foreign Service.

As the war between Serb-dominated Yugoslavia and secessionist Croatia intensified throughout 1991, Kenney became more and more concerned that the United States was not doing more to stop the violence, to step in to bring the war to an end. Then, after Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence on April 6, 1992, Kenney's concern turned to alarm, as he realized that no serious action was being contemplated by the George H. W. Bush administration.

On August 25, 1992, Kenney resigned in protest over U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia. Shortly beforehand, he had written a memorandum suggesting that the United States send teams to investigate what was then happening in Bosnia—at a time when reports were surfacing of Serb-run concentration and rape camps, wanton violence, and ethnic cleansing. His most immediate concern was a report from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) predicting that up to 150,000 people would die the following winter if immediate action from the countries in the West was not forthcoming. What frustrated Kenney most was the thought that the State Department knew what was taking place and was not acting in a manner likely to stop the killing. Moreover, it seemed to be turning a blind eye to reports coming in from a wide variety of sources, filtered through Kenney's desk.

Kenney's action was considered courageous by many of those around him. Resignations over matters of principle, particularly of those involved in foreign affairs, have been infrequent historically, as they are a statement that the public servant involved has no confidence in a government's policy—the policy he or she is expected to administer. Kenney's resignation sent a message that the United States, and indeed, the countries of the West generally, needed to abandon their stance of little or no action and replace it with concrete measures that would stop the brutal aggression of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic.

After his high-profile resignation, Kenney became a consultant to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the premier international affairs think tank in the United States. Over the next several years, he published numerous articles in the mainstream press, did hundreds of radio and television interviews and talk shows, and traveled extensively through the United States on speaking tours. During this time he kept a very close eye on events in Bosnia, and became disillusioned at the carelessness with which people were throwing around terms such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, holocaust, and the like. He was especially critical of what he saw as inflated numbers of those killed in the fighting—either in combat or through the deliberate targeting of civilians.

On April 23, 1995, he published an article in the *New York Times* that was arguably his most important piece to date, "The Bosnian Calculation." In this, he argued that most estimates of the death toll up to that point were in fact highly inaccurate and massively overstated. He accused the Bosnian government and the international community of sensationalism and of deliberately inflating the number of fatalities to attract international support for the Bosniak cause over that of the Serbs—for whom he nevertheless retained the utmost contempt.

Predictably, Kenney's article attracted a great deal of opposition. Questioning the figures of mortality, he was amazed at the credulity of the international press and leading statesmen and politicians who accepted claims of genocide and hundreds of thousands of deaths without seeking any sort of verification or clarification. For many people, Kenney's controversial article—a stance from which he never departed—tarnished his heroic earlier action at the beginning of the war when he resigned over United States inaction.

One important outcome of the stand he took when he resigned, however, came in 1993, when his action served as an important precedent for the resignation of three other Foreign Service officials over the same issue. Marshall Freeman Harris, Jon Western, and Stephen Walker, all State Department experts on Bosnia and/or Croatia, resigned in protest over the U.S. handling of the

Balkans situation within a two-week period in August 1993, in a massive condemnation over the government's lack of effective action. While this did not change U.S. policy in any sort of tangible way, it was nonetheless an expression of the younger generation's commitment to "never again" where genocide was concerned—and in doing so, provided some measure of hope for the future.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Milosevic, Slobodan; United States of America

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Kok, Willem

Willem "Wim" Kok is a former Dutch Labour Party politician who served as prime minister of the Netherlands between August 22, 1994, and July 22, 2002. He was born in Bergambacht, the Netherlands, on September 29, 1938. A lifelong moderate socialist, he joined the Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen (NVV) in 1961, upon graduation from college, where he served as chairman from 1973 until 1982. A merger of the NVV and the Catholic trade union (the NKV) saw him become chairman of the new Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (FNV) between 1976 and 1986.

In 1986 he became leader of the Dutch Labour Party. He led his party into office in a general election in 1994, and became prime minister in a coalition cabinet alongside the more moderate liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy and the social liberal party Democrats 66. Kok's government was reelected for a second four-year term in 1998.

In late January 1994, as part of the United Nations (UN) commitment to the defense of civilians during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, the first units of a 1,170-strong Dutch paratroop battalion (code-named "Dutchbat") were deployed to Bosnia. Kok's government, which inherited the mission, oversaw its subsequent activities. Earlier, on April 16, 1993, the Bosnian city of Srebrenica was declared by the United Nations Security Council to be a "safe area," and in pursuit of this objective, on March 3, 1994, some 570 Dutchbat soldiers entered the city to relieve a much smaller Canadian detachment. In the 16 months that followed, Dutchbat experienced a range of challenging situations, including military deaths in combat conditions; the capture of some of its soldiers and their subsequent abuse by Bosnian Serb forces as human shields; being overrun in Srebrenica in July 1995 by Bosnian Serb forces led by General Ratko Mladic without a shot being fired; and, as a result, failing in their mission to defend the population of Srebrenica as some 8,000 civilians (mostly men and boys) were

murdered after the fall of the city. Srebrenica became the scene of the greatest massacre on European soil since the Holocaust.

During the siege leading up to the fall of the city, Srebrenica found itself constantly suffering privation, as the Bosnian Serb army blocked UN aid convoys, testing the resolve of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops guarding the city. In holding out, as the capital city of Sarajevo was doing at the same time, Srebrenica became a symbol of Bosniak resistance, but on July 6, 1995, its defiance came to an end. Encouraged by UN equivocation over whether or not to maintain the safe areas initiative, Mladic led a 10-day campaign to take over Srebrenica and subject it to the process known as “ethnic cleansing.” As the campaign was getting under way, thousands of Srebrenica’s men and boys fled the city in order to reach Muslim fighters beyond the hills, presumably hoping to lead them back to defend the city. The women, children, and elderly were for the most part loaded onto Serb-chartered buses and evacuated. Upon taking the city and overrunning the UNPROFOR base at nearby Potocari, where the Dutchbat peacekeepers had been sheltering thousands of Bosnian Muslims, Mladic’s troops began hunting down the Muslim men who were then struggling through Serb-controlled lines. Capturing them in small groups, the Serbs concentrated them in larger numbers in fields, sports grounds, schools, and factories, where they were slaughtered in the thousands.

Srebrenica has become a symbol of the brutality of the Serb war against Bosnia’s Muslims, and of the UN’s failure to stand up to genocide—especially given the fact that the “safe zone” created by the UN was not defended, but simply allowed to be taken with the assent of the Dutch peacekeepers and their North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) commanders, both on the ground and elsewhere.

In the national soul-searching that followed, Netherlands citizens were distressed when it became known that, the night before the final Serb assault on the city, the Dutchbat commander, Lieutenant Colonel Thom Karremans, had drunk a toast with General Mladic, it was said in honor of Mladic’s victory. (Karremans later explained that it was only a glass of water, but by then, courtesy of Serb photographers filming the exchange, the damage had been done.) The fall of Srebrenica, and the deaths of its citizens by the thousands, was seen as a matter of national shame in Holland.

The role of the Dutch peacekeepers at Srebrenica was at the least ineffectual; at most, it was criminal in its complicity with the Bosnian Serbs. What it pointed to most clearly was the danger to be found in United Nations security operations

that were not sufficiently supported at every level; and arguments were made that Dutchbat's mandate was not clear enough and the troops not properly trained or equipped for the tasks they were required to undertake.

In 1996, Kok commissioned an official inquiry into the actions of the peacekeepers. The resulting report, produced by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), was issued on April 10, 2002. It found that both the Dutch government and the United Nations shared responsibility for the massacre. While laying primary responsibility for the massacre at the feet of Mladic, it also condemned the Dutch government for committing troops to protect the enclave with insufficient logistical or numerical means to see the job through. The ramifications were significant. Six days after the report's release, following an emergency cabinet meeting that had been called to discuss the report, Kok's government resigned en masse. While denying any responsibility for the actual killing, Kok declared that his government bore the shame of having been in office and was therefore responsible for the shortcomings of Dutchbat during its tenure at Srebrenica. Immediately after the resignation of the government, the army chief of staff, General Adrianus ("Ad") van Baal, also resigned.

Some political commentators in the Netherlands saw Kok's action as a cynical piece of political gamesmanship at a time of falling popularity in the polls. The fact that elections were already scheduled to take place a few weeks later (in May 2002), and that Kok had announced the previous year that he would be leaving politics after the election, did nothing to add to the view that Kok was acting out of altruistic motives alone. Others, to the contrary, held that by resigning in April 2002, Kok made a gesture that would henceforth be the benchmark of what representative accountability in the face of failed humanitarian intervention really means. Whatever the reason, Kok's action did not help his party. He was succeeded as leader of the Dutch Labour Party by Ad Melkert, who went on to lose the election.

The resignation of the Dutch government over Srebrenica was unanticipated, and refocused the spotlight back onto the Srebrenica genocide at a time when many in the Netherlands were beginning to move on. It is not yet clear whether the action of the Kok government in 2002 was a precedent for statesmanship in the 21st century, or whether it will remain a singular event in world politics unlikely to be repeated.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations; United Nations Protection Force

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Kosovo

Kosovo, also known as Kosova, is a country in the southern Balkans bordering Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire on the eve of World War I, Kosovo, which had been inhabited by Serbs and Albanians for centuries, was conquered by Serb forces. The inclusion of Kosovo in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes left almost half the Albanian population in the Balkans outside their Albanian homeland, but it helped ensure the survival of Serbian culture in the “holy lands” of what was once known as Old Serbia. The Kosovo Albanians did not fare any better under their Serb rulers than they had under the Ottoman sultans. Denied all linguistic, cultural, and educational rights, they were forced to play the part of simple peasant farmers in a country that the South Slavs considered their exclusive property. Albanian-language schools remained as unlawful as they had been under the Turks, and even the possession of Albanian-language books was dangerous for the few people in Kosovo who could read at that time.

“Ethnic cleansing” was a keystone of Serbian policy toward Kosovo from the very start. In the 1920s and 1930s, indeed, up to 1960, hundreds of thousands of Albanians were forcibly expelled from their homeland, mostly to Turkey, under the absurd pretext that they were Turks; Serbian colonists were more than willing to occupy and settle the newly vacated farmlands. Characteristic of the attitude taken by the Serbian authorities before World War II was a memorandum presented to the Belgrade government on March 7, 1937, by noted Serbian historian Vaso Cubrilovic on the expulsion of the Albanians. As a consequence, Albanian loyalties to the royalist Yugoslav state were divided when Axis powers occupied Kosovo in 1941 and reunited the province with Albania, giving Kosovo Albanians schools and cultural facilities in their own language for the first time. In early 1945, Kosovo was formally returned to Yugoslavia after President Tito persuaded communist leaders in Albania to give

up the principle of self-determination and accept a “Marxist solution” for the region. Tito realized he would never receive Serbian support for a referendum on self-determination. On its reincorporation into Tito’s Yugoslavia, Kosovo was nonetheless declared an autonomous region within the Republic of Serbia, not an integral part of Serbia.

The extreme political divergence between Yugoslavia and Albania that erupted in 1948 made it evident to Kosovo Albanians that they could not look to the Albanian capital of Tirana for anything more than moral support in the areas of culture and education. The Albanian language had finally been proclaimed one of the official languages of Kosovo, but the linguistic and educational rights that were theoretically enjoyed by the Albanian population in Kosovo long remained more abstract than concrete. Tito’s would-be successor, Vice President Aleksandar Rankovic, made active use of the secret police to repress and terrorize the Albanian population, whom he despised, in favor of a “Greater Serbia,” until his fall from grace at the Brujuni Plenum in July 1966.

The improvement of Yugoslav-Albanian relations in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, as well as the establishment of full diplomatic ties between the two countries in February 1971, brought about a political thaw for the Kosovo Albanians. In 1968, they won the right to fly their national flag, and in November 1969 the bilingual University of Pristina was opened, facilitating higher education in Albania for the first time. Full cultural autonomy was first achieved after much delay under the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974, though only in Kosovo itself, not for the large Albanian community in Macedonia. The spirit of Yugoslav brotherhood and unity and the semblance of autonomy and freedom that the Albanians enjoyed in the 1970s were brought to an abrupt end in 1981. The popular demand for republican status and equality with the other peoples of the Yugoslav federation (a demand supported by the vast majority of the population of Kosovo) was met with tanks and automatic rifles.

The suppression of the uprising of March–April 1981 signaled the end of peaceful coexistence in Kosovo and, at the same time, the beginning of the demise of Yugoslavia. Throughout the 1980s, the political and economic situation in the province deteriorated, and, as a result, intercommunal relations took a drastic turn for the worse—a harbinger of what was to come for all of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. The mass rallies of 1989 held by Serb ultranationalists, under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic, to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, as well as the open Serbian

military invasion of Kosovo in the summer of 1990, brought the province to the verge of civil war. The elected parliament and government of Kosovo were deposed, and the Albanian media were stifled; *Rilindja*, the only Albanian-language daily newspaper, was banned, and all Albanian-language radio and television broadcasting was shut down. “Emergency legislation” facilitated the direct takeover of all Kosovo industry and the firing not only of Albanian management but of all employees of Albanian nationality—literally hundreds of thousands of workers. In the autumn of 1991, teaching at the University of Pristina was suspended, with the exception of courses reserved for students from the Serb minority, and all Albanian professors were expelled. Albanian-language elementary and secondary schools were closed down.

The new Serbian constitution of 1989 did away with the autonomy of Kosovo for all practical purposes. The Albanians proclaimed the Republic of Kosovo on July 2, 1990. In an impromptu session held in Kacanik on September 7, 1990, the “illegal” Parliament of Kosovo promulgated its own constitution. In a referendum held later that month, 87.5 percent of the population voted for Kosovo as an independent and sovereign state. Serbia responded with repressive force. Armed intervention led to additional (and more violent) repressive measures, including displacement of ethnic Albanians and several massacres. In 1999, NATO forces initiated a bombing campaign against the Serbian forces and forced their withdrawal. Deliberations as to Kosovo’s future under United Nations hegemony began and continued for a number of years without a resolution to the situation. Milosevic was forced from office and, in 2001, arrested and placed on trial for war crimes relative to the massacres in Kosovo. He died before his trial was concluded.

After negotiations in 2007 on the status of Kosovo failed to resolve the issue, the Kosovo Assembly declared independence on February 17, 2008. Over the next year, approximately 50 countries recognized the new country. Among the countries that have refused to recognize it is Serbia, which is pursuing several options in international law to have the province’s independent status rejected.

Robert Elsie

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo War; Kosovo, War Crimes in; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation HORSESHOE; Racak Massacre

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Kosovo Liberation Army

The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was a Kosovar Albanian military force first established in 1990 and dedicated to Albanian unity and the creation of an independent Kosovo. Many nations in the West initially considered the KLA a terrorist organization (as did Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic), as it engaged in largely guerilla-style war to achieve its political ends and frequently targeted ethnic minorities, particularly during the 1998–1999 Kosovo War. At the height of its operations, the KLA had some 20,000 armed troops. Many of the soldiers hailed from Albania, but the KLA also included mercenaries from Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, and Yemen. The KLA was never well organized or led, as some members were rightists while others were leftists. Between 1990 and 1994, the KLA was an underground organization that had not engaged in any widespread military operations.



Kosovo Liberation Army fighters prepare to engage in combat with Serbian police in the town of Junik, Kosovo, on June 22, 1998. The Kosovo Liberation Army was a paramilitary force dedicated to forcing Kosovar Albanian independence from Serbia through the 1990s, waging full-scale war during 1998–1999. (AP Photo/Santiago Lyon)

Beginning in 1995, however, the KLA began staging attacks against Serbian police. Initially, the group had attempted to reach accommodation with Serbian strongman Milosevic, but the bloody 1992–1995 Bosnian War seemed to prove to the KLA leadership that no compromise with the Serbs was possible or even desirable. During 1998, conflict flared anew in the region when the KLA began a bloody campaign against Milosevic's forces; Milosevic in turn responded in March 1999 with Operation HORSESHOE, an effort to bring ethnic cleansing to Kosovo. This prompted a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led intervention that saw the aerial bombardment of Serbian forces and infrastructure both in Kosovo and Serbia. During this time, NATO was working with the KLA to defeat Milosevic's genocidal campaign in Kosovo.

The air campaign forced Milosevic to cease his campaign, and in June 1999 the United Nations Interim Administrative Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) took over government functions in Kosovo. One of the goals of UNMIK was to dissolve the KLA and form a new army in its stead. This was only partly realized, however. The KLA remained largely as it had existed during the 1990s but was renamed the Kosovo Protection Force (KPF). The newly named force,

operating under the aegis of UNMIK, launched its own campaign of ethnic cleansing in 1999, which was designed to expel all foreigners—Serbs, Roma, and non-Albanians—from the Province of Kosovo. The KPF also continued the KLA's effort to achieve independent status for Kosovo. At the same time, the NATO-led Kosovo Force, an armed peacekeeping group authorized by the UN, was unable to stem the KPF's attacks.

Since the early 2000s, the situation in Kosovo has gradually moderated, although Kosovo remains under the nominal control of the UN. On February 17, 2008, Albanian Kosovar nationalists declared the existence of the Republic of Kosovo, a move that the Serbs roundly denounced. The new republic has achieved partial international recognition and hopes to solidify its position within the international community by the time peacekeeping troops vacate the region. Currently, the KLA continues to exist, under its new name, and is the de facto Kosovar army.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Albania; Jashari, Adem; Kosovo; Kosovo War; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation HORSESHOE; Serbia; United Nations

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Kosovo War

In the mid 1990s, increasing Serbian repression had radicalized many moderates among the 90 percent majority Albanian population in the Serbian province of Kosovo. With the threat of violence increasing, Ibrahim Rugova (the elected president of the Republic of Kosovo since 1992 but not recognized by Yugoslavia) pleaded for a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping force in Kosovo.

On April 22, 1996, the secret Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) carried out a series of attacks against Serbian security personnel throughout the province. When Albania collapsed into violence in 1997, a good deal of that nation's military hardware was looted and ended up in the hands of the KLA in western Kosovo. Although the United States branded the KLA a terrorist organization, neither it nor other Western powers made any effort to stem the flow of arms and money to it.

The Yugoslav army responded to the KLA attacks with considerable force, attacking base areas. In the ensuing fighting a number of civilians were killed. Although the Serbs sought talks with Rugova, he rejected any negotiations with Serbian officials and insisted that the talks be only with the Yugoslav government over independence.

In May 1998, the Yugoslav army carried out a major military operation in Kosovo, leading the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to launch in June an air demonstration, Operation DETERMINED FALCON, over the Yugoslav borders.

President Slobodan Milosevic reached an agreement with the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, to cease offensive military operations and begin negotiations, but Milosevic and Rugova met only once, in Belgrade, on May 15. By that time, the United States was clearly backing the KLA. Heavy fighting occurred during the summer. Atrocities were committed by both sides, as well as the destruction of churches and mosques. By the fall and with winter

approaching, some 250,000 Albanians had been driven from their homes in Serb ethnic cleansing.

U.S. diplomats attempted to hammer out a deal in which the Yugoslav army would halt its attacks, NATO peacekeeping troops would enter the province, and the KLA would drop its bid for independence. A cease-fire agreement was brokered on October 25, 1998. A Kosovo Verification Mission was established with unarmed observers.

The inadequacy of this effort was soon apparent, as the violence increasingly shifted to urban areas, including assassinations and bombings on both sides. A turning point in the war came on January 15, 1999, with the Racak massacre, in which a number of ethnic Albanians were found murdered, their bodies mutilated.

Meanwhile, contentious and plodding talks occurred at Rambouillet, France, between the parties during February–March 1999, with NATO secretary general Javier Solana acting as a go-between. On March 18, Albanian, U.S., and British representatives signed what became known as the Rambouillet Accords. This agreement called for the autonomy of Kosovo, the development of democratic institutions, and the protection of human rights. This was to be guaranteed by an invited international civilian and military force. The Serb and Russian delegations refused to sign the agreement, however. The Serbs' counterproposal was so extreme as to be rejected even by their Russian ally.

With the Serbs recalcitrant, NATO launched a bombing campaign during March 12–June 11, 1999. It was the first time that NATO had conducted a military campaign against a sovereign state and the first military operation for the German Air Force since World War II. All the NATO powers took part to some degree, including Greece, the government of which opposed the war. In all, NATO carried out some 38,000 sorties. The proclaimed goal of the campaign was announced as “Serbs out, peacekeepers in, refugees back.” That is, Yugoslav troops must leave Kosovo to be replaced by an international peacekeeping force so that ethnic Albanian refugees might return to their homes.

Clearly NATO planners had underestimated the force that would be required, and the campaign did not go well at first. Indeed, it emboldened Milosevic to intensify Serb efforts to clear Kosovo of its Muslim non-Serb population, sending hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing into neighboring Bosnia, Albania, Montenegro, and Macedonia. By April, the UN reported that nearly 850,000 people—the vast majority of them ethnic Albanians—had been driven from their homes.

NATO intensified the air effort, hitting not only strategic targets but, increasingly, Yugoslav army units on the ground, including individual tanks and artillery pieces. Dual-use targets struck included infrastructure such as bridges over the Danube as well as television towers and political party headquarters in Belgrade. On May 7, 1999, NATO bombs inadvertently hit the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing three and wounding 20, sharply straining relations between Washington and Beijing and producing anti-American demonstrations throughout China.

With NATO actively considering the dispatch of ground troops (U.S. president Bill Clinton was opposed), in early June 1999 Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari, former Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, and London banker Peter Castenfeldt convinced Milosevic to back down and accept a peace agreement that would end the war and halt the NATO bombing campaign. On June 9, NATO and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia formally signed a peace agreement that would admit a military presence (the Kosovo Force) within Kosovo under the UN while also incorporating NATO forces.

On June 11, NATO troops entered Kosovo in Operation JOINT GUARDIAN as the Yugoslav Army exited the province. Although no NATO lives were lost in the bombing campaign, it is estimated that as many as 1,500 Serb civilians were killed. NATO claims of military damage inflicted were found to be inflated, and many of the targets struck (such as tanks) turned out to be decoys. This was a consequence of Serb ingenuity that overcame NATO technology but was also the result of restrictions to minimize the chance of casualties among the aircrews that had kept the NATO aircraft above 15,000 feet.

The war left Kosovo in near chaos. Within a matter of a few weeks, a half million Kosovo refugees moved back into the region. By November more than 800,000 had returned. In Serbia, meanwhile, large demonstrations called for the removal of Milosevic from power. The Kosovo War became the major factor that drove him from power in 2000.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also: Ahtisaari, Martti; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo, War Crimes in; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Racak Massacre; Rambouillet Accords; United States of America

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Kosovo, War Crimes in

In response to reports of atrocities and a humanitarian crisis in Kosovo, on March 23, 1999, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began a 78-day air campaign code-named Operation ALLIED FORCE against a range of Yugoslav military targets. This campaign soon escalated to include NATO-designated “dual-use” targets. Local violence intensified exponentially, as did the extent of the already-existing refugee crisis, causing an estimated 850,000 Kosovar Albanians to flee to neighboring Albania and Macedonia. On June 10, 1999, the Slobodan Milosevic regime agreed to withdraw its forces from the province under United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1244, pursuant to Chapter VII of the UN Charter, simultaneously with the deployment of the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Along with these forces, a special representative of the UN secretary-general was granted executive authority. Between March and June 1999, media reports typically estimated some 10,000 Kosovans killed, mostly by Serb security forces but also by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) against suspected collaborators. NATO operations, meanwhile, had resulted in the deaths of approximately 500 innocent civilians; an additional 800 were injured.

On June 2, 2000, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Carla Del Ponte, announced that her office had found no grounds for an indictment of NATO targeting or military operations. Prosecuting war crimes was an important element in the overall effort to bring about postconflict reconstruction in Kosovo. While remaining formally under Belgrade's sovereignty, the province's unresolved final international legal status continues to be intensely disputed.

Accountability for human rights violations in Kosovo has been addressed through trials in internationalized local courts, the ICTY in The Hague, and the War Crimes Panel at the Belgrade District Court. On May 24, 1999, the ICTY indicted Milosevic, president of Yugoslavia from 1997 to 2000, on charges of individual command responsibility for genocide, which included complicity in genocide; deportation; murder; persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds; inhumane acts; forcible transfer; extermination; imprisonment; torture; willful killing; and a lengthy list of other internationally prohibited crimes in Kosovo. Milosevic was arrested on April 1, 2001, by Serbian authorities and transferred to the ICTY on June 29, 2001. The charges against him were later extended to include crimes committed in other former Yugoslav territories. Milosevic died in detention on March 11, 2006, however, resulting in the termination of the trial against him three days later.

On May 24, 1999, the ICTY also indicted Milan Milutinovic, president of Serbia from 1998 to 2002, for persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds; murder; deportation; and forcible transfer. In June 2002, mass grave sites approximately 20 kilometers away from Belgrade were discovered, containing the remains of 470 civilian Kosovan-Albanian victims. This area was under the control of the Yugoslav armed forces, indicating a direct link between war crimes and public officials. Seven other senior Serb and Yugoslav officials also faced ICTY indictment for war crimes in Kosovo: Nikola Sainovic, Dragoljub Ojdanic, Nebojsa Pavkovic, Vladimir Lazarevic, Vlastimir Djordevic, and Sreten Lukic.

Kosovo is the first instance in which the UN inserted international judges and prosecutors to work alongside existing jurists in the local criminal justice system. Pursuant to UNMIK Regulation 2000/64, these international judges and prosecutors had the power to intervene in war crimes trials when they suspected either lack of expertise among local jurists or biased judgments against representatives of other ethnic communities. These internationalized local courts reversed and remanded previous judgments by all Kosovo-Albanian courts against accused Serbs due to lack of sufficient evidence by international legal standards regarding, for example, intent to commit genocide. There were also concerns over the full enforcement of due process. Much of Kosovo's society remains ill-informed and suspicious about the work of both the ICTY and of the internationalized local courts, and Serb jurists have boycotted the latter. Unfamiliarity with the common law approach to criminal justice among local legal professionals who were trained in a civil law tradition is another obstacle.

Some of the foreign judges on these hybrid tribunals also were not experts in international jurisprudence, and they often failed to cite relevant cases from the ICTY. The UN special representative ultimately decides which cases merit international involvement.

On January 27, 2003, the ICTY indicted Fatmir Limaj on charges of commanding the KLA. The indictment charged him with responsibility for operations in the Llapushnik area and of the Llapushnik prison camp of the KLA (about 25 kilometers west of Pristina). Together with Isak Musliu and Haradin Bala, Limaj was charged by the ICTY with war crimes against Serbs and Albanian collaborators during the Kosovo conflict. On November 30, 2005, Limaj and Musliu were found not guilty, but Bala was convicted. The ICTY also indicted Ramush Haradinaj, an ethnic Albanian and former prime minister of Kosovo, together with two other men whose trial began in March 2005; they were charged with killing 40 people in 1998.

In July 2003, the Republic of Serbia, in order to implement Chapter XVI of its Basic Criminal Code, which rules on criminal offenses against humanity and international law, adopted the “Law on Organization and Jurisdiction of Government Authorities in Prosecuting Perpetrators of War Crimes.” In accordance with Article 5 of the ICTY statute for criminal investigation and prosecution of perpetrators of criminal offenses, it established a Prosecutor’s Office for War Crimes and a War Crimes Panel in the District Court of Belgrade. In 2006, it initiated trials of suspected low-and mid-level perpetrators of war crimes against prisoners of war immediately after the end of Operation ALLIED FORCE. In October 2004, amendments to the law empowered the prosecutor to undertake criminal prosecutions based on the data and evidence collected by the ICTY in cases in which an indictment had not necessarily been issued. The unresolved fate of over 2,000 missing persons remains the most sensitive “transitional justice” issue for all Kosovars.

Benedict E. DeDominicis

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo War; Operation HORSESHOE

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Kostunica, Vojislav

The last president of the now-defunct Yugoslavia, Vojislav Kostunica served as prime minister of Serbia from March 2004 to July 2008.

Born in the Serbian capital of Belgrade on March 24, 1944, Kostunica was raised in Mount Suvobor, a small Serbian village. He aspired to be a professional basketball player but eventually followed in the footsteps of his legal-minded family, attending the Belgrade University School of Law. He received his bachelor's degree in 1966 then went on to earn both a master's degree (1970) and a doctorate (1974) in law from the same university. While studying for his doctorate, Kostunica worked as an assistant professor at the School of Law. In 1974, however, after criticizing then-president Josip Broz Tito's policy of granting greater constitutional autonomy to Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Kosovo, calling it biased against Serb minorities, Kostunica was forced to resign his teaching post.

Kostunica transferred to another university, the Institute for Social Sciences, in 1974. He was named a senior science associate at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory in 1981, serving for a time as the institute's director. Kostunica's thesis, an opposition to capitalism, was later turned into a book, opening the door to his writing career. He worked for a number of respected journals of law and philosophy, including the *Chancery for Legal and Social Sciences*, where he was also editor in chief. A strong advocate of free speech, Kostunica participated in an organization called the Board for the Protection of the Freedom of Thought and Expression during the 1980s. He was offered a professorship at Belgrade University in 1989, but turned it down because the university had forced him out in 1974.

In 1989, Kostunica helped found the Democratic Party (*Demokratska Stranka*, DS), a centrist party that favored a democratic multiparty political system, free speech, and a free press. The party split in 1992 when the DS began

to move away from the center toward the right of the political spectrum. Kostunica then became president of the DS dissident faction, the Democratic Party of Serbia (*Demokratska Stranka Srbije*, DSS), which ironically would eventually swing further to the right than the DS. In 2000, Kostunica became the presidential candidate of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), an 18-party opposition bloc that included the DSS. A reluctant candidate, Kostunica agreed to stand in as the DOS candidate for Yugoslav president only after it became evident that opposition leaders Vuk Draskovic and Zoran Djindic were not likely to defeat Slobodan Milosevic.

Kostunica enjoyed an advantage going into the election because he had avoided the major pitfalls of Yugoslav politics: he was never a member of the Communist Party, he had no ties to opposition candidates who favored the West, and he was never associated with Milosevic's corrupt regime. During his campaign, he endorsed Western economic policies and the notion of a free, democratic Yugoslavia, yet he was also an unapologetic Serb nationalist who strongly condemned the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 1999 bombing campaign (a response to Serbian ethnic cleansing in Kosovo) and criticized the Dayton Agreement as unfair to the Bosnian Serb population.

Milosevic, on the other hand, did not acknowledge Kostunica as a viable opponent until after the challenger had already won the election. Kostunica refused to participate in a runoff with Milosevic, insisting that he had won the initial election with enough of the vote to avoid a second round. Milosevic, in turn, refused to concede his post, setting off a wave of demonstrations by the public demanding that he step down. On October 4, 2000, after protesters had stormed the nation's Federal Assembly building and the police had joined in the protests, Milosevic announced that Kostunica had indeed won the election.

Kostunica faced a monumental challenge as president in rebuilding the decimated economy of Yugoslavia (which by then had shrunk from a federation of six republics to just two: Montenegro and Serbia), as well as reestablishing international ties. He pushed for the country's return to full membership in the United Nations, and he endorsed Montenegro's arguments for autonomy. As Serbia and Montenegro officially agreed to a looser federal union on February 4, 2003, Kostunica served as president of Serbia and Montenegro until the new Federal Assembly was formed on February 27, 2003.

On February 20, 2004, Kostunica was appointed Serbian prime minister by acting president and speaker of the legislature Dragan Marsicanin. As prime minister, he had faced a number of challenges in moving Serbia into the 21st

century. Eager to obtain membership in the European Union (EU) for Serbia, Kostunica promised to arrest wanted Bosnian Serb war crimes suspect Ratko Mladic by April 30, 2006, and extradite him to a UN international criminal tribunal. However, his failure to secure the arrest of Mladic—who was not arrested until 2011—resulted in the suspension of talks with the EU.

Although opposed to Montenegrin independence, Kostunica accepted Montenegro's decision to leave the union with Serbia and issued a declaration of Serbian independence on June 5, 2006. The independence of Montenegro triggered speculation that the Serbian province of Kosovo, which was then administered by the UN and NATO, might also become sovereign. Indeed, Kosovo declared its independence in February 2008 in a controversial move that prompted unrest among the Serbian populace and within Kostunica's government. The internal rifts proved too deep in the wake of Kosovo's declaration, and the governing coalition collapsed in early March. On March 8, Kostunica dissolved the government, and President Boris Tadic was forced to dismiss the National Assembly on March 13 and call for snap elections. In the subsequent elections, which took place on May 11, Kostunica's DSS finished a distant third after an anti-EU, pro-Russian campaign that stressed Serbia's claim to Kosovo.

Kelly O'Brien

See also: Milosevic, Slobodan; Montenegro; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Serbia; Yugoslavia

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Krajisnik, Momcilo

Arrested in 2000 on genocide and war crimes charges, Momcilo Krajisnik is one of the highest-ranking politicians to appear before the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, the Netherlands. From 1996 to 1998, Krajisnik, a member of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka Bosne i Hercegovine*, SDS-BiH), served as one of three members of Bosnia and Herzegovina's federal presidency. Known as a Serb hard-liner whose primary aim was the creation of a greater Serb state, Krajisnik has expressed resentment toward what he perceives as international interference in the former Yugoslavia.

Born in 1945, Krajisnik studied to become an economist. He worked briefly as a banker, and then moved into politics as president of the Bosnian Parliament in 1991 and the primary representative of the SDS-BiH. In 1992, the SDS-BiH and other Serb nationalist groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina responded to the nation's decision to declare its independence from Yugoslavia by creating a Bosnian Serb state. Krajisnik supported the move and served as speaker of the unrecognized breakaway state's new legislature.

Krajisnik maintained a high profile during Bosnia's long-running civil war between Roman Catholic Croats, Orthodox Christian Serbs, and Muslim Bosniaks. As a strong Serbian nationalist, he embraced the opportunity to establish a greater Serbian state. Krajisnik came to power under the tutelage of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. Krajisnik quickly rose to replace Karadzic as the leader of hard-liners within the SDS-BiH after Karadzic was indicted by the ICTY for war crimes and continued to advocate the creation of a greater Serbian state that would include Serb regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Krajisnik urged his colleagues to ignore the efforts of international peacekeepers and defy the Dayton Agreement (1995).

In nationwide elections mandated by the Dayton Agreement held on September 14, 1996, Krajisnik was elected as the Bosnian Serb member of Bosnia and Herzegovina's three-member presidency, securing 67 percent of the vote in Republika Srpska. The other two presidents elected were Alija Izetbegovic and Kresimir Zubak. In an effort to undermine the authority of the presidency, Krajisnik coordinated a Serb boycott of the swearing-in ceremony for the collective presidency and legislators on October 5. International officials at the National Theater in Sarajevo delayed the ceremony for more than three hours in hopes of a late arrival by the Bosnian Serbs. Krajisnik's refusal to attend stemmed in part from his disapproval of the phrasing of the oath of office and his objection to pledging loyalty to a unified nation. The boycott did not prevent him from assuming office.

In February 1997, Krajisnik drove a further wedge between Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and Bosniaks by announcing the existence of a "special relationship" between Republika Srpska and Yugoslavia, in direct conflict with Bosnia and Herzegovina's stance on Yugoslav allegiance. Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic had repeatedly encouraged the dream of establishing a greater Serbian state at the expense of Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats. Krajisnik made it clear that his allegiances were to Serbian nationality rather than to a united Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In a rare spirit of cooperation, Krajisnik worked with his copresidents to establish a single currency for Bosnia and Herzegovina in April 1997. The new currency—the convertible mark—replaced the Bosnian dinar, the Yugoslav dinar, and the Croat kuna. Beginning in July, Krajisnik instituted another boycott, this time of meetings between himself and his copresidents. Krajisnik claimed that the boycott was in response to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) seizure and execution of Serbs accused of war crimes. He also maintained that he feared traveling to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it lay within the Bosniak-Croat controlled region. Krajisnik discontinued the boycott in early September after international officials threatened to remove him from office.

In September 1998 Zivko Radisic succeeded Krajisnik as Bosnian Serb president. In December 2001, Krajisnik was expelled from the SDS-BiH along with his former mentor Karadzic for their roles in the Serb ethnic cleansing campaigns during the early 1990s. NATO forces arrested Krajisnik in April 2000 and extradited him to The Hague, where he stood trial for genocide, crimes against humanity, and violation of the laws and customs of war. On September

27, 2006, the ICTY sentenced Krajisnik to 27 years in prison on charges of war crimes, but the court acquitted him of the more serious charge of genocide, citing insufficient evidence. In his verdict, ICTY judge Alphons Orie stated that Krajisnik's "positions within the Bosnian Serb leadership gave him the authority to facilitate the military, police, and paramilitary groups to implement the objective of the joint criminal enterprise," namely the extermination and persecution of non-Serbs during Bosnia's civil war. Orie continued: "Mr. Krajisnik ... accepted that a heavy price of suffering, death, and destruction was necessary to achieve Serb domination." On March 17, 2009, the Appeals Chamber judged that Krajisnik's sentence should be reduced from 27 to 20 years. In September of that year, he was transferred to the United Kingdom to serve the remainder of this sentence.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Izetbegovic, Alija; Karadzic, Radovan; Milosevic, Slobodan

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Krstic, Radislav

Radislav Krstic was born on February 15, 1948, in Nedjeljista, in Vlasenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1968 he enrolled in the Belgrade military academy, from where he graduated in 1972 as a commissioned officer in the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA). Between 1972 and 1981 he was stationed in Sarajevo, after which he was assigned to the general staff of the Belgrade military academy. In mid-1986 Krstic was reassigned to Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, where he remained in various training and command positions.

After the secession of Bosnia from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992, Krstic elected to return to his place of birth. He joined the Army of Republika Srpska (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, or VRS), where he was given the rank of lieutenant colonel. After seeing action in a number of engagements, and an accompanying series of promotions, on August 15, 1994, Krstic was appointed chief of staff and deputy commander of the Drina Corps, one of six geographically based corps in the VRS, under the overall command of General Milenko Zivanovic.

On December 29, 1994, Krstic stepped on a landmine and was seriously wounded; on January 3, 1995, his right leg below the knee was amputated. After a period of recuperation and further treatment, he returned to active service in the middle of May 1995, and was engaged in leading heavy fighting in the Srebrenica, Zepa, and Vlasenica regions. In June 1995 he was promoted to the rank of general major, and on July 13, 1995, assumed command of the Drina Corps.

On July 9, however, General Ratko Mladic, overall commander of the VRS, arrived in the area with orders that the town of Srebrenica must be taken. The Drina Wolves from the 1st Battalion of the Zvornik Brigade were the first VRS soldiers to enter the town of Srebrenica. After the area was cleared and more forces arrived, Krstic and his staff moved into the town of Srebrenica itself.

Krstic visited nearby Potocari, the location of the base housing the Dutch soldiers of UNPROFOR, the United Nations Protection Force that had guaranteed Srebrenica as a safe area. It is unclear, however, as to the extent of his involvement in the ensuing Srebrenica genocide. He was closely involved, at a command level, in the Bosnian Serb attacks at the height of the assault, and when the Srebrenica operation began he held responsibility for the planning and execution of the campaign, under the overall command of Zivanovic and Mladic. By the time the assault on Potocari took place, Srebrenica was in the process of being “ethnically cleansed” in line with Mladic’s orders. On July 12 and 13, women, children, and the elderly then sheltering in the UN base were put onto buses and deported en masse; the men were then systematically hunted down in the hills surrounding the city and slaughtered. As second-in-command of Serbian forces responsible for the fall of Srebrenica, Krstic saw his troops massacre an estimated 8,000 Bosniak men and boys, in Europe’s worst atrocity since the Holocaust.

Krstic remained a senior officer for the duration of the war, and led the attack that resulted eventually in the capture of another UN safe area, Zepa, on August 1, 1995. On November 21, 1995, however, he was relieved of his duties as commander of the Drina Corps and sent to the National Defense School in Belgrade.

For crimes committed during the Srebrenica campaign, Krstic was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on October 30, 1998. These included genocide, complicity to commit genocide, extermination, two counts of murder, and persecution. (Two additional charges were added on October 27, 1999. One was for deportation, the other for inhumane acts.) Until this time, Krstic had led an open life in Republika Srpska, and was given command of the 5th Corps of the VRS in April 1998. On December 2, 1998, however, he was arrested by soldiers of the United Nations Stabilization Force for Bosnia-Herzegovina (SFOR); he was transferred for trial to The Hague the next day, charged with genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

Krstic’s defense was to deny all complicity and involvement in the Srebrenica genocide. He acknowledged that war crimes had been committed by the VRS, but denied that he issued orders for the actions for which he had been charged, instead placing full responsibility with Mladic. He claimed that he did not participate in planning, organizing, or ordering any killing or deportations, and denied knowing anything about such things until placed on trial. He pleaded

not guilty to genocide and complicity to commit genocide, murder, cruel and inhumane treatment, acts of terror, destruction of personal property, forcible transfer, and extermination. The strategy of denial did not work, and on August 2, 2001, Krstic was found guilty on all counts and sentenced to 46 years' imprisonment. He became the first man convicted of genocide by the tribunal, and was only the third person ever to have been convicted under the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

On August 15, 2001, Krstic's legal team appealed the judgment, arguing that the court both misconstrued the legal definition of genocide and erred in applying the definition to several circumstances of the case. The Appeals Chamber dismissed the appeal concerning misinterpretation of the legal definition of genocide, but on April 19, 2004, found in favor of some of Krstic's other grounds of appeal. The court declared him not guilty of genocide, but affirmed his guilt as an accomplice to genocide, and his sentence was reduced to 35 years.

Finally, on December 20, 2004, Krstic was transferred to the United Kingdom to serve his sentence. On May 7, 2010, he was assaulted in prison by three fellow inmates at the Wakefield high security prison. Guards found him bleeding and unconscious, and immediately transferred him to a hospital, but his injuries were not life threatening.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Drina Corps; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Mladic, Ratko; Srebrenica Massacre

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L

Lilic, Zoran

Serbian Zoran Lilic succeeded Dobrica Cosic as president of Yugoslavia, holding the ceremonial office from 1993 to 1997. After Slobodan Milosevic took over the presidency in 1997, Lilic became Yugoslavia's deputy prime minister, a position he held until his replacement in 2000 by Miroljub Labus.

Born on August 27, 1953, in Brza Palanka, Serbia, Lilic was educated at Belgrade University. He began his career working in state-owned industries. A member of the Serbian League of Communists, now the Socialist Party of Serbia (*Socijalisticka Partija Srbije*, SPS), he chaired the Serbian Assembly from 1992 to 1993.



Zoran Lilic served as president of Yugoslavia from 1993 to 1997. As Serbia attempted to regain some semblance of stability after the Bosnian War, he became deputy prime minister under Slobodan Milosevic in November 1997 and served in this role until 2000. (AP Photo/Dragan Filipovic)

Following a vote of no confidence that prompted the removal of President Cosic's government, the Yugoslav Federal Assembly appointed Lilic president on June 25, 1993. He became a vice president of the SPS in 1995. An ally of then-Serbian president and SPS leader Slobodan Milosevic, Lilic supported Milosevic's self-appointed role as the representative of the Bosnian Serbs during the peace negotiations of 1995. Lilic also backed Milosevic's demands for the resignation of Bosnian Serb leader and alleged war criminal Radovan Karadzic, who stepped down in July 1996.

In July 1997, Lilic was succeeded as Yugoslavia's president by Milosevic, who sought the office after being prevented from serving a third term as Serbian president by the Serbian Constitution. Backed by the SPS and Milosevic, Lilic made a strong bid for the Serbian presidency in September 1997. Two rounds of elections were deemed inconclusive, however, after fewer than the required 50 percent of the electorate turned out to vote. Lilic withdrew his candidacy after the second round of balloting and was replaced by Milan Milutinovic. In November 1997, Lilic was appointed Yugoslav deputy prime minister. He stepped down from the post in October 2000, following Vojislav Kostunica's presidential win over Milosevic.

In July 22, Lilic was arrested and forcibly transported to The Hague, the Netherlands, in order to testify against Milosevic, who was on trial for crimes against humanity and genocide at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. In February 2006, Lilic refused a request to testify before the International Court of Justice, which was hearing Bosnia and Herzegovina's charge of genocide against Serbia.

ABC-CLIO

See also: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Kostunica, Vojislav; Milosevic, Slobodan; Yugoslavia

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Lukic, Milan

Milan Lukic, a Serb, was born in the Bosnian town of Foca on September 6, 1967. During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995 he organized a militia group known as the White Eagles, which operated in and around the town of Visegrad, located on the Drina River. Prior to this he lived for periods of time in Germany, Serbia, and Switzerland, but returned to Bosnia from Zurich in 1992. It was after arriving in Visegrad that he is alleged to have been closely involved in the wartime re-formation of the White Eagles, which had already existed as a group of Bosnian Serb paramilitaries known as the Avengers.

The White Eagles group has been identified with Serbian Radical Party (*Srpska radikalna stranka*, or SRS) politician Vojislav Seselj, a connection he denies. The group fought during both the Croatian and Bosnian wars, and was reportedly involved in ethnic cleansing campaigns not only in Bosnia but also in Serbia's provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo. Its earlier incarnation began in 1991–1992, and saw it responsible for a number of atrocities: Vocin, Croatia (December 1991); Visegrad, Bosnia (May 1992); Foca, Bosnia (between April 1992 and January 1994); and Gacko, Bosnia (June–July 1992). Other massacres committed directly under the responsibility of Lukic include those at Sjeverin and Strpci, where non-Serb minorities in Serbia and Montenegro were abducted and then murdered on Bosnian territory. Various members of the White Eagles were later indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Lukic's group was known to work with local police and military units, with the intention of spreading terror in Visegrad and its vicinity for the purpose of permanently ridding the town of its Bosniak population. Among the acts committed by the group within the Visegrad municipality were murder, rape, torture, assault, imprisonment, deportation, systematic looting, and destruction of Muslim homes and villages. Both of Visegrad's mosques were completely destroyed. These activities took place throughout the summer of 1992, until such time as the prewar Muslim population of Visegrad—some 14,000 in all—had been removed from the town altogether. The action became the first instance of what became known as “ethnic cleansing” in Bosnia, and was carried out allegedly on the orders of Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic. Given his orders, the task of “cleansing” the town fell to Lukic, as the most senior militia leader in the vicinity.

Throughout his reign of terror, Lukic did not act alone. His cousin Sredoje Lukic and a close family friend, Mitar Vasiljevic, were also closely involved with Lukic's command, and were, like Lukic, later convicted by the ICTY for their part in the massacres. The Lukic cousins were together allegedly responsible for numerous assaults against Bosniak women they held prisoner at Visegrad's infamous Vilina Vlas spa hotel, Lukic's headquarters, where women were often held for days and weeks and repeatedly raped.

In the culture of impunity that prevailed in Serbia and Republika Srpska after the Bosnian War ended in December 1995, Lukic lived quite openly, and was often seen around Visegrad and within Serbia itself, especially in Belgrade. Protected by influential political and police contacts in Serbia and Republika Srpska, no action was taken to hand him over to the ICTY. In August 1998, however, the ICTY charged him with 11 counts of crimes against humanity and 9 other counts of violations of the laws or customs of war. This initial indictment was then confirmed on October 26, 1998, though kept confidential until October 30, 2000, when it was unsealed. In 2001, the original indictment against Lukic was amended to include war crimes as well as crimes against humanity, as ICTY negotiators uncovered more evidence against him.

In October 2002, after the fall of Slobodan Milosevic, the Office of the Public Prosecutor in Belgrade issued indictments against Lukic on a different set of charges relating to the mass murder of Bosniaks during the Bosnian War. A Serbian court sentenced him in absentia to 20 years' imprisonment in September 2003. With this hanging over him, he held a number of informal negotiations with ICTY officials with a view to surrender and a possible transfer to The Hague, and on April 9, 2005, he offered to go voluntarily once his superiors had also gone. (No names were mentioned, though it was generally assumed that these would include Mladic and Karadzic, both of whom remained at large during this period.) Then, on August 8, 2005, Lukic was arrested in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He appeared before a judge the following day, as extradition orders were being cut to have him transferred to The Hague for trial. This duly took place on February 21, 2006. At his initial appearance in court on February 24, he pleaded not guilty to 12 counts of crimes against humanity (persecution, murder, inhumane acts, extermination) and 9 counts of violations of the laws or customs of war (murder and cruel treatment).

On June 12, 2008, the prosecution filed a motion for a new indictment, asking the tribunal to consider a proposal to add rape, sexual violence, slavery, and torture in detention centers and other locations in Visegrad to the existing

charges. The day before the trial began, however, the Trial Chamber rejected the prosecution submission seeking to add the new charges, ruling that such an amendment to the indictment would prejudice Lukic's right to have enough time to mount a defense.

The trial began on July 9, 2008, and closing arguments took place on May 20, 2009. Lukic was found guilty on all counts for which he had originally been charged; on July 20, 2009, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was only the second individual to be so sentenced by the ICTY.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Mladic, Ratko; Visegrad

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M

Macedonia

A landlocked nation in southeastern Europe, Macedonia (officially recognized by most international organizations as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, or FYR Macedonia) is a nation of about 2 million people with a continental climate and a mountainous terrain. About 65 percent of the population is Macedonian, but there is also a large Albanian minority, totaling about 25 percent of the population. There are also Turkish, Roma, and Serbian minorities. The principal religion is Eastern Orthodox, which is practiced by about 70 percent of the population. About 30 percent of the population is Muslim. Macedonian is the main language, although the Albanian minority speaks Albanian and the Turkish and Serb minorities speak Turkish and Serbo-Croatian, respectively. Macedonia's capital is Skopje.

In 1993, as the Bosnian War was raging, the United Nations accepted Macedonia as a member state under the name FYR Macedonia. This was a compromise to placate Greece, which accused the Balkan nation of planning to annex a nearby Greek province of the same name. Ethnic and nationalist tensions nearly brought Macedonia to civil war at the start of the 21st century, but in 2001 the government introduced more inclusive democratic institutions after signing a landmark peace deal with ethnic Albanian guerrillas, at the same time granting amnesty to those rebels who willingly gave up their weapons. North Atlantic Treaty Organization peacekeepers remained stationed in the country until 2003, when they handed the mission over to forces from the European Union (EU). A power-sharing agreement, part of the 2001 peace deal, dictates that parties representing both Macedonians and Albanians must participate in the government.

Despite the nation's movements toward democracy, Macedonia's economic institutions remain essentially communist, although numerous private firms have been created since Macedonia became independent in 1991. The economy, which was the weakest of the Yugoslav republics, was seriously hampered by the international embargo against Yugoslavia—which had been Macedonia's main trading partner—during the 1990s. Reductions in industrial production and

tourism have since undermined living standards, and unemployment remains high.

In late 2005, Macedonia officially became a candidate for EU membership and was praised for the stability of its multiethnic democracy. A peaceful transition of power followed July 2006 elections, when Prime Minister Vlado Buckovski conceded victory to the center-right Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, led by Nikola Gruevski.

ABC-CLIO

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatia; Montenegro; Serbia; Yugoslavia

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MacKenzie, Lewis

Lewis MacKenzie is a retired Canadian military officer who served as commanding officer of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992. He was born on April 30, 1940, in Truro, Nova Scotia, to a military family that had deep historical roots in Canada. He studied at St. Francis Xavier University, where he majored in philosophy, and then joined the Canadian army, where he received his commission with the Queen's Own Rifles in 1960. At various times in his military career he attended the University of Manitoba, the Canadian Army Command and Staff College (1970), the NATO Defense College in Rome (1977), and the United States Army War College (1983).

His career before being posted to Bosnia saw him deployed to such locations as Gaza, Cyprus, Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), and Egypt, as well as operational command of the United Nations (UN) Observer Mission in Central America.

MacKenzie did not expect to be deployed to the former Yugoslavia. Based in Toronto as deputy commander of all troops stationed in Ontario, he anticipated a move to Ottawa in the summer of 1992 to assume a new posting at National Defence Headquarters, but on February 26, 1992, he received the call that would see him sent to Sarajevo within days. The unexpected orders named him chief of staff of UNPROFOR, a peacekeeping body established by the UN Security Council on February 21, 1992, initially for the purpose of facilitating a peace agreement between Croatia and the breakaway Republic of Serbian Krajina. MacKenzie's primary task was to provide security for the four UN protected areas created under the agreement. UNPROFOR was established for an initial period of a year, with headquarters situated in nearby Sarajevo. MacKenzie's mandate broadened in April 1992 when the Bosnian War broke out, and he was forced to create of a new area of command, Sector Sarajevo, in May 1992. He assumed command of this new unit, employing it to open Sarajevo airport for the delivery of humanitarian aid.

MacKenzie's role in Bosnia established much in the way of what would become standard UN procedure over the next three years. Notably, it was MacKenzie who instituted the cardinal principle of UNPROFOR neutrality, a principle that appeared reasonable on paper, but, in reality, discriminated against the Bosnian Muslims by virtue of their being outnumbered and outgunned in an unequal combat foisted on them by the rebellion of the Bosnian Serbs and invasion from Serbia. This attracted controversy from many critics around the world, particularly as it became clear that UNPROFOR under MacKenzie's command was enjoying a very close relationship with the Serbs that appeared to be something less than impartial—even extending to MacKenzie allegedly befriending the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, while those under Karadzic's command were committing ethnic cleansing and other atrocities toward civilians in the vicinity of Sarajevo. MacKenzie also adopted a controversial position through allegedly making statements opposing Western intervention in the war altogether, and calling for a reduced UN and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) presence.

In October 1992 MacKenzie returned from the Balkans—some said in disgrace, though others were deeply sympathetic toward him in view of what they considered to be a next-to-impossible job. The Canadian government commended him for his work in Sarajevo, and following his return he was appointed commander of the army in Ontario. While as a serving officer he did not comment on Canadian government policy, MacKenzie was openly critical of

the UN's ability to run a peacekeeping mission of the kind demanded in Bosnia, citing issues relating to command, control, and support for the peacekeeping forces placed under his authority.

Perhaps the most serious charge leveled against MacKenzie came in December 1992, when the chief Bosnian military prosecutor in Sarajevo, Mustafa Bisic, accused him of sexual misconduct against four Bosniak women held by Serbian forces in a rape-detention camp called *Kod Sonje* ("At Sonia's"), in the Sarajevo suburb of Vogosca. Bosnian authorities conducted a careful investigation of the rape allegations, and secured a number of testimonies from both victims and witnesses. The Bosnian courts also requested that the UN revoke MacKenzie's diplomatic immunity. Formal charges were never laid, primarily because MacKenzie was never questioned over the allegations, and there the matter rested.

In March 1993, after a military career then into its fourth decade, he retired from the Canadian military. This gave him the opportunity to write and speak freely about his experiences, and to set the record straight as he saw it. Later in 1993 he published his memoir of his time in Bosnia, *Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo*. It became a best seller in Canada, as he presented a frank perspective of the problems of modern peacekeeping and why it is that United Nations so often gets it wrong. He drew attention to how the UN has adapted (or failed to adapt) to the growing complexities of multinational peacekeeping in an age in which superpower rivalries are no longer able to keep warring factions in check. While delving into these multifaceted theoretical issues, he also summarized his own experiences in the field during his deployment, explaining both his frustrations and the reasons for his successes.

Since that time, MacKenzie has written and lectured extensively on his experiences in the former Yugoslavia and on current events generally. He has built a reputation as a controversial commentator on a wide variety of issues. Where the former Yugoslavia is concerned, he has cast doubt on the veracity of claims that the events in the city of Srebrenica in July 1995 can be called genocide, even going so far as to question whether Srebrenica could legitimately have been called a UN safe area. He has challenged the findings of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and contested the conclusions and reasoning of the Appeal Chamber's 2004 judgment in the case of Radislav Krstic, which reaffirmed that genocide took place at Srebrenica.

In other areas, MacKenzie has also been controversial. He has been highly critical of his fellow-Canadian general, Romeo Dallaire, commander of the

United Nations troops in Rwanda in 1994, over the issue of whether they should have stayed or withdrawn. Dallaire stayed, against the orders of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, in order to try to save lives amidst the unfolding genocide. In doing so, MacKenzie has argued, Dallaire exceeded the terms of his mandate and jeopardized the lives of the troops under his command.

MacKenzie's most contentious post-Sarajevo act, in the eyes of many, was a two-day paid speaking tour in Washington, DC, on behalf of the Serbian-American lobby group SerbNet, soon after he retired. MacKenzie denied that he had been paid by SerbNet, but a number of investigations by leading journalists contested this claim. To Bosniaks and their supporters, MacKenzie showed at this time that he was a Serb sympathizer whose claims to evenhandedness during his tenure in Sarajevo would henceforth be called seriously into question.

His views were challenged even further when he queried the West's wisdom in going to war in 1999 against Serbia over Kosovo. At a time when many saw the NATO action as an attempt at stopping another genocidal situation inspired by Slobodan Milosevic, MacKenzie, discounting the Kosovo Liberation Army as terrorists, asked whether or not NATO was in fact bombing the wrong side. Subsequent articles in later years restated the problem and concluded that events since the war had done nothing to sway MacKenzie from his original position.

Though no longer a serving soldier, Lewis MacKenzie is far from a spent force in retirement. He is now a much sought-after public affairs commentator through the pages of Toronto's *Globe and Mail* and on Canadian television (particularly with regard to security and military affairs), and he maintains an active schedule as a public speaker on leadership and conflict resolution.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Karadzic, Radovan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Rape Camps; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations Protection Force

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Mandlbaum, Zoran

Zoran Mandlbaum is a former president of the Jewish community in the city of Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina. He is best remembered as having rescued innumerable Bosniaks during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, and thus earning the title of “the Schindler of Bosnia.” Born on September 9, 1946, in Mostar, he graduated from the University of Mostar’s Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and became technical director of the city’s Soko aircraft factory. He spent his whole life in Mostar, close to the Croatian border. As a young Jewish boy growing up in post-Holocaust Yugoslavia, he was all too aware of how the Nazis and local collaborators had murdered many members of his family, and was conscious of the need to take care of life in the face of atrocity.

When war began in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, the Mostar Jewish community, first established as long ago as 1570, had a tiny population of some 128 members. For one of the few occasions in the history of Western warfare, Jews were not a target for any of the warring parties. The Jewish community was more or less ignored by the belligerent Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks. Faced with this unique circumstance, and mindful of the Holocaust experience that preceded him, Mandlbaum decided to turn the situation into one in which he could achieve humanitarian outcomes, rather than just standing aside and doing nothing.

At first, he helped civilian Serbs leave Mostar for safer territory. He then began a number of remarkable initiatives, using his position as a Jewish neutral who could serve as a go-between respected by all sides. This was especially valued by those being held as prisoners in notorious Croat-run concentration camps such as Heliodrom and Dretelj. Heliodrom was a concentration camp that operated between September 1992 and April 1994 through the Croatian Defense Council (*Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*, or HVO), the military arm of the self-proclaimed Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. The camp, which was located in Rodoc, just south of Mostar, was built in order to detain Bosniaks and Serbs during the war. Dretelj was run by the HVO, and was located near Capljina and Medjugorje, in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Conditions at both camps were harsh and inhumane, with severe overcrowding, inadequate medical and sanitary facilities, insufficient food and water, deficient ventilation, and, in the summer, suffocating heat.

Mandlbaum tried to find ways to get letters, news, and food to those imprisoned in these camps. Within the wider community, he was also active in trying to save lives and bring together loved ones separated by the war. Coming

from a city whose various communities had been largely integrated, he helped reunite dozens of couples in mixed relationships by secretly taking one or another of those separated in the divided city across the Neretva River and to the waiting partner.

His activities did not stop with the provision of visible aid. Recalling how Jews seeking to flee Nazi persecution during the Holocaust were forced to have the letter “J” stamped in their passports, Mandlbaum decided that this negative could be turned into a positive through the forging of false documents for Bosniaks. He arranged that their identity documents also bear the letter “J” (in Croatian, *Jevrejin*, or Jew), and thereby certify that the bearers were Jewish. With these new identities, people were able to procure new official documents sufficient for them to be able to leave the country (and in some cases, obtain release from concentration camp detention). It is estimated that as president of the Mostar Jewish community he issued more than 200 such documents testifying to their bearers’ “Jewish” identity. On the basis of these, his fellow citizens were able to leave the war zone for Croatia or other countries. It is known that several families found sanctuary in Israel.

Soon after war came to Mostar, HVO forces gained control over most of the city. The Bosniak population west of the city center were either expelled or sent to concentration camps. Those on the eastern side of the city were confined in a kind of ghetto and lived through daily shelling and sniper fire. Cut off from the city and deprived of food supplies and medicine, the population soon found itself in crisis. Mandlbaum decided to use the neutrality of the Jewish presence in order to bring in convoys of humanitarian aid. Managing to break through the military blockade, between 1993 and 1995 the Jewish community sent over 106,000 kilograms of food through to east Mostar, as well as thousands of letters from outside.

Unlike most residents of Mostar, Mandlbaum had the choice of whether or not to stay. He could easily have left the war zone and found safety elsewhere. Many Jewish families emigrated to Israel or countries in the diaspora such as Canada, Germany, Britain, or Sweden. Closer to home, some moved to Croatia or Serbia. By the end of the war, it was estimated that only about thirty members of the Jewish community remained in Mostar.

Another alternative Mandlbaum could have taken was to stay in the city and look to the interests only of his own community, making sure the Jews were safe. While doing this as a matter of course, his primary decision was to remain in Mostar in order to help some of the thousands of innocent people—whether

Jewish or not was irrelevant—who were at that time suffering and in danger of being killed.

His efforts were not universally appreciated. During the war he faced a number of assassination attempts, was evicted from his apartment, and had his car blown up. When asked later what his motivation was for putting his own life at risk, he stated that as a Jew he called upon his religious heritage for inspiration at a time when he could otherwise easily have looked the other way. He was aware of the ruling in the Talmud that states “He who saves a life, saves the world entire” (Mishnah Sanhedrin 4:5; Babylonian Talmud Tractate Sanhedrin 37a), and that owing to the Jews’ experience in World War II Jews had a positive role to play in the future of Mostar. With this in mind, he was very conscious of his duty: in the fate of the Bosniaks of Mostar, he recognized the historical fate of Jews everywhere. He wanted to show on this occasion that people from different backgrounds could live together, even if they did not share the same ethnicity.

Zoran Mandlbaum continues to live in Mostar. On February 22, 2011, he was awarded the Duško Kondor Civil Courage Award, an award commemorating Duško Kondor, a human rights activist assassinated in his home in Bjeljina in February 2007. For his rescue efforts during the Bosnian War, some have since nicknamed him “The Bosnian Schindler,” a term with which he is less than comfortable. For Mandlbaum, he feels only that what he did was the right thing to do in the face of human suffering. Now, back in Mostar, he sees it as his role to help build bridges between religious leaders from the Muslim, Croatian, Jewish, and Serbian communities, so that Bosnia might have a brighter future.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Finci, Jakob

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Markovic, Ante

Ante Markovic was the last prime minister of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, holding office from 1989 to 1991.

Markovic was born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then one of the six Yugoslav republics, on November 25, 1924. In the 1930s he joined the League of Communist Youth and was its leader for several years. He fought with the forces led by Josip Broz Tito to free Yugoslavia from German and Italian occupation during World War II. Markovic received a degree in electrical engineering and worked at a factory in Zagreb, Croatia, serving as the director general of the plant from 1961 to 1986. At the same time he was active within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in 1982 he became the president of the executive council of the party's Croatian branch. Between 1986 and 1988 he was head of the Yugoslav Federation's collective presidency.

When he became prime minister in 1989, Yugoslavia's economy was in deep trouble and Markovic determined that the only solution was a rapid transition to a free-market system. His efforts were not entirely successful, in part because of unwillingness by the communist leadership, including Markovic himself, to convert the nation to a multiparty system. However, on January 22, 1990, the ruling Communist Party ended its monopoly on political power. Multiparty elections held the following April ended the dominance of the party in all but the Serbian and Montenegrin republics. Serbia, which was under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic, opposed Markovic's reform plans, and Milosevic used Serbia's control over the Yugoslav government to undermine his efforts. Markovic's position was further undermined by the secession of Croatia and Slovenia—which Markovic tried to block—and then by Milosevic's support for insurgencies carried out by ethnic Serbs within Croatia and later in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Markovic resigned from the premiership in December 1991 after a series of power struggles with Milosevic and the outbreak of war with Croatia. Following his resignation and the secessions of four of the six Yugoslav republics, the reformed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (comprising only Serbia and neighboring Montenegro) replaced the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In 2003, Markovic testified at the war crimes trial of Milosevic before the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia that a plan existed between Milosevic and Croatian president Franjo Tudjman to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina between Serbian and Croatian control. Markovic also

told the tribunal that Milosevic worked with Radovan Karadzic to train Bosnian Serb fighters.

After a short illness, Markovic died early on November 28, 2011.

ABC-CLIO

See also: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Milosevic, Slobodan; Tudjman, Franjo; Yugoslavia

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Mejakic, Zeljko

Zeljko Mejakic is a convicted Bosnian Serb war criminal. He was the chief of security and de facto commander of the Omarska detention camp, established by Serbian forces near Prijedor in northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina, between May and August 1992. Mejakic was born in Petrov Gaj, in the municipality of Prijedor, on August 2, 1964, and prior to the outbreak of the Bosnian War on April 6, 1992, was a police officer in the village of Omarska.

After the forcible takeover of Prijedor by Bosnian Serb police and army forces in late April 1992, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats became subjected to severe restrictions, including movement and employment, and privations of various kinds. More than 7,000 non-Serbs from the Prijedor area were confined in the Omarska, Trnopolje, and Keraterm camps between May and August 1992. Mejakic was present at Omarska from May 24 onward, when he joined as chief of security with full authority over all the guards and any visitors. In late June 1992 he was placed in overall charge at Omarska, where he remained until August 30, 1992. A later indictment by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) stated that he was “superior to and responsible for the three guard shifts,” as well as other functions in the camp, in which prisoners were subjected to cruel treatment, severe beatings, sexual

assaults, and other forms of physical and psychological abuse. Many were murdered.

Omarska was recognized by Human Rights Watch as a concentration camp, and there were certainly many aspects of its operation that justified this designation. Run by Bosnian Serb forces in the small town of Omarska, a mining town near Prijedor, it was one of 677 alleged detention centers and camps set up throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war. Among the actions undertaken at Omarska, and its sister camp at Keraterm, were daily interrogations, severe beatings, other forms of physical and psychological abuse including sexual assault and killings. Omarska and Keraterm operated in a manner designed to discriminate and subjugate the non-Serbs by inhumane acts and cruel treatment.

On February 13, 1995, an initial indictment against Zeljko Mejakic was issued by the ICTY. He and 13 other coaccused were charged with crimes that took place at Omarska and Keraterm in June and July 1992. The crimes listed in the indictment, it was alleged, were the result of a joint criminal enterprise between the coaccused. On September 17, 2002, the indictments against Mejakic were amended to also include individual criminal responsibility and superior criminal responsibility for crimes against humanity and war crimes.

On July 1, 2003, although living in Serbia since November 1996, he surrendered to the ICTY. He was transferred from Serbia to The Hague three days later, and made his initial appearance before the tribunal on July 7, 2003.

Specifically, the charges against him included three counts of crimes against humanity (persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds; murder; inhumane acts) and two counts of violations of the laws or customs of war (murder and cruel treatment). He pleaded not guilty to all counts of the indictment.

On July 20, 2005, the Referral Bench of the ICTY decided that the case be submitted to the Bosnian authorities in Sarajevo. The coaccused appealed this decision, but on April 7, 2006, the Appeals Chamber of the ICTY dismissed the appeal. On July 28, 2006, Mejakic and his codefendants appeared before Bosnia's War Crimes Chamber in Sarajevo. Again, their plea was not guilty. The trial itself began on December 20, 2006.

Much of the trial was taken up with claims and counterclaims regarding the degree to which Mejakic was or was not in a position of superior authority in the camp, and how far he had in fact tried to help alleviate the condition of detainees. He acknowledged occurrences of rape of Bosniak women, and

expressed condolences to the families of those killed at Omarska, but also said that he had helped detained Bosniak civilians during their detention and after they were released. Bosniak witnesses for the defense testified to this during the trial. Building on such testimony, Mejakic's defense, in closing arguments, called for him to be released, adding that it considered the state prosecutor was not able to prove Mejakic's responsibility for the crimes committed at Omarska. An added argument for leniency and dismissal rested on the fact that in 2003 he had voluntarily surrendered to the ICTY without challenge.

The State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not accept the arguments of Mejakic's defense team, and on May 30, 2008, he was found guilty of crimes against humanity (murder, imprisonment, torture, sexual violence, persecution, and other inhumane acts) as a direct perpetrator of one instance of mistreatment and under the theory of command responsibility as the de facto commander of Omarska camp. He was also found guilty under the theory of joint criminal enterprise for furthering the camp's system of mistreatment and persecution of detainees. He was sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment, his sentence to be served in full and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Concentration Camps; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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Milosevic, Slobodan

Slobodan Milosevic was the president of Serbia between 1989 and 1997, and then of the remnants of Yugoslavia between 1997 and 2000. He was born on August 20, 1941, in Pozarevac, a small town on the outskirts of Belgrade, the son of Montenegrin parents—both of whom committed suicide, his father in 1962 and his mother in 1974. His ancestors belonged to the Vasojevici clan from Montenegro.

In 1959, aged 18, he joined the Serbian Communist Party, and in 1960 he became a law student at the University of Belgrade. He graduated in 1964. While a student he became active in the League of Communists, and upon graduation became an economic adviser to the City of Belgrade. In 1968 he was appointed as deputy director of the state-owned Tehnogas Company, and in 1973 became its director. His political advancement was helped through his connection with a friend and mentor, Ivan Stambolic, his predecessor as director of Tehnogas and later president of the Republic of Serbia within the Yugoslav Federation. Between 1978 and 1983, Milosevic was president of Beobanka, one of Yugoslavia's largest banks (and the largest in Serbia), where he remained until entering politics in 1983, at which point he joined the Presidium of the Serbian League of Communists. On May 28, 1986, the 10th Congress of the Serbian League of Communists elected Milosevic as its president.

By 1987 he had become a leading political figure, emerging as a zealous promoter of a Greater Serbia, a longtime aspiration of some Serbian nationalists—an aspiration which was also, simultaneously, long feared by many non-Serbs in Yugoslavia.

Milosevic's first order of business was to stem the rising tide of Kosovar Albanian nationalism. On April 24, 1987, he gave a rousing speech to an angry audience of Serbs at Kosovo Polje protesting what they deemed the unfair policies of the Albanian majority in Kosovo. Milosevic declared that he would never allow anyone to hurt Serbs as long as he was their leader. Both Milosevic and his speech became famous overnight, and he thereafter served as the symbolic leader of Serbs all over Yugoslavia. He imposed a harsh rule and a much stronger police presence over the Kosovar Albanians, leading to the abandonment of any hopes they may have had of a return to Kosovar autonomy.

This was the beginning of an ideological about-face for Milosevic. From the views he had espoused earlier in his career as a Communist Party functionary, he now remade himself into a radical Serbian ethnonationalist. Then, following the collapse of communism and a push by Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia to leave the Yugoslav federation in 1991–1992, Milosevic appeared to have but one aim in mind: to keep the country together under Serbian domination at all costs. Toward that end, he encouraged Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia to “free” themselves from “foreign”—that is, Croatian and Bosniak—rule. To make their defense possible, by 1992 Milosevic was providing the “threatened” Serbian minorities within those two newly independent states with weapons and inciting them to wage ethnic war.

In April 1992, following Bosnia's declaration of independence, violence erupted throughout the former Yugoslav republic. Milosevic promised to protect Serbs from the threat of "Islamic fundamentalism" and "Croatian genocide." Warfare exploded across the region, and as it did so, horrendous war crimes, crimes against humanity, and even genocide were perpetrated in the quest to occupy land and clear entire non-Serb populations.

The result saw the practice of ethnic cleansing introduced throughout the Balkans, with the Bosniaks experiencing forms of genocide at the hands of the Serbs. Over succeeding years, Milosevic became the prime mover of the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia along ethnic lines. While the Bosnian Serb forces under the command of generals such as Ratko Mladic, Milenko Zivanovic, and Radislav Krstic directed the Serb war effort, Milosevic was prepared to take something of a back seat in the prosecution of Pan-Serb interests. Moreover, the Bosnian Serb political leader, Radislav Karadzic, served the purpose of attracting most of the West's opprobrium for the horrors committed in the name of Greater Serbia.

Within an otherwise brutal and bloody conflict, arguably the worst atrocity committed at Bosnian Serb hands took place in July 1995, when Serb troops took over the United Nations safe area of Srebrenica (and the Dutch base at nearby Potocari) and, as Dutch UN peacekeepers looked on, massacred some 8,000 Muslim boys and men in a genocidal massacre that was the largest such atrocity in Europe since the Holocaust.

Building on the efforts of others whom he supplied and supported, Milosevic nonetheless came close to achieving his goal of a Greater Serbia. His policies resulted in hundreds of thousands dead and the dissolution of what had been the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and saw the Bosnian Serbs rewarded with the permanent acquisition of large tracts of land that had formerly been majority Bosniak or Croat.

Indeed, Milosevic might even have been ultimately successful in his quest for a Greater Serbia but for two major external interventions from the international community. The first was the peace settlement bringing an end to the Bosnian War, the Dayton Agreement signed on November 21, 1995. By this, the fighting was ended through the introduction of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops, whose task was to supervise the disengagement of the belligerent parties and monitor the resulting peace. The new map of Bosnia incorporated many of the military gains won by Bosnian Serb militias and regular forces through force of arms, but while the peace settlement represented

a limited victory for Milosevic, it stopped short of giving him total mastery over Bosnia, which remained independent.

After this, Milosevic attempted to rebuild his image, from being seen as a brutal warmonger to a peacemaker prepared to give ground on some of his ambitions for the greater good of his people. In 1997 he became president of a newly reconstituted Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but if the idea was to buy time to enable Serbia to rebuild and look to the future, it came at a bad moment. Armed clashes between Kosovar Albanian separatists and Serbian paramilitary police and the army led to escalating rounds of repression by Milosevic's government against the Kosovars, particularly in the Drenica Valley region. Scores of thousands of Kosovar civilians were forcibly expelled from the province, accompanied by an orgy of looting, destruction of houses, and shelling of villages. By now, this was enough for the West, leading to the second major external intervention against Milosevic—and, ultimately, to his undoing.

The crisis reached its peak with the signing of an international agreement reached at Rambouillet, France, on February 23, 1999. Its intention was to resolve the crisis over Kosovo. The countries of NATO resolved to bring Milosevic's reign of terror in the Balkans to a halt, once and for all, and his refusal to cease violence against the Kosovar Albanian population led to an intense NATO bombing against Serbian military installations—and then Serbia proper—between March and June, 1999.

In response to the bombing, Milosevic took the opportunity afforded by the resulting chaos to carry out a massive campaign of “ethnic cleansing” against the Kosovar Albanian population. Ironically, as NATO carried out its controversial bombing effort intended to stop Serb aggression against the Kosovars, the Serbs intensified their measures against the very population NATO was trying to save. While Serbia was ultimately defeated by a NATO alliance determined not to lose under any circumstances, Milosevic, by now increasingly detached from political reality, considered the battle a victory. Forced to surrender, he was ordered by the allies to desist from ordering any further attacks against the Kosovars, and to evacuate all military, paramilitary, and police forces from the province.

Significantly, it was during this conflict that, on May 27, 1999, Milosevic was indicted for crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague. Charges of war crimes in Croatia and Bosnia, and genocide in Bosnia, were added some 18 months later.

The defeat in Kosovo eventually led to his political downfall in October 2000. On June 28, 2001, after some hesitation, the newly elected government of Vojislav Kostunica turned Milosevic over to the ICTY. Soon the charges against him were recast to include genocide in Bosnia and war crimes in Croatia. When his trial began on February 12, 2002, he refused to recognize the legitimacy of the tribunal, and represented himself rather than accept court-appointed counsel. The trial was controversial from the beginning, with Milosevic still enjoying a high level of support within Serbia and the Serb areas of Bosnia known as Republika Srpska. Other critics voiced concerns about the extent to which he was likely to receive a fair trial from the ICTY, equated with a “victors’ court,” so soon after the Kosovo Intervention.

The prosecution took two years to present its arguments in the first part of the trial, which covered the wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. It concluded its case on February 25, 2004, after hearing nearly 300 witnesses.

The charges he faced were genocide, complicity in genocide, deportation, murder, persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds, inhumane acts and forcible transfer, extermination, imprisonment, torture, willful killing, unlawful confinement, willfully causing great suffering, unlawful deportation or transfer, extensive destruction and appropriation of property not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly, cruel treatment, plunder of public or private property, attacks on civilians, destruction or willful damage done to historic monuments and institutions dedicated to education or religion, and unlawful attacks on civilian objects. In all, he faced three distinct acts of indictment, which in total represented 66 different counts.

On August 31, 2004, the next phase of the trial began, with Milosevic starting his case for the defense. He dismissed all accusations of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. As the trial proceeded, however, the trial was repeatedly interrupted as a result of Milosevic’s deteriorating health due to high blood pressure, bouts of fatigue, and heart problems. On March 11, 2006, he died of a heart attack, in jail, as ICTY prosecutors were beginning to produce evidence and witnesses that could have confirmed his guilt. His body was returned to his birthplace at Pozarevac and buried in a public ceremony attended by thousands of Serbian nationalists.

On March 14, 2006, the proceedings against Slobodan Milosevic were formally terminated.

The significance of the Milosevic trial lay in the fact that it was the first in which a former head of state was tried before an international court. Heads of

government, such as Jean Kambanda, had already been tried by such courts, as had several others after World War II. But the Milosevic case was to serve as an important precedent, and other indictments would follow in succeeding years.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Kosovo, War Crimes in; Krstic, Radislav; Mladic, Ratko; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Republika Srpska; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre

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Mladic, Ratko

Ratko Mladic was the commanding officer of the Army of Republika Srpska (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, or VRS) throughout the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. Along with the Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic, he came to symbolize the Serb campaign of ethnic cleansing of Croats and Muslims. Mladic was born in the village of Bozanovici, Kalinovik, in southern Bosnia, on March 12, 1943. He became a career soldier in the Yugoslav People’s Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA), entering the Military Academy in Zemun in 1961 and graduating at the top of his class from the Officers’ Academy in 1965. The same year, he joined the Yugoslav Communist Party. Rising through the officer ranks, by 1989 he had been promoted to the post of head of the Education Department of the Third Military District of Skopje, Macedonia.



Ratko Mladic, the commanding officer of Bosnian Serb forces throughout the Bosnian War. Indicted for genocide and war crimes for his part in the genocidal massacre at Srebrenica in the summer of 1995, his trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia only commenced after his capture in 2011, after 16 years on the run. (AP Photo/Oleg Stjepanovic)

As the Yugoslav Federation began to disintegrate, Mladic received rapid promotion. In June 1991, he was appointed as commander of the 9th Corps of the JNA, leading his forces in a number of engagements fighting in Croatia, and on October 4, 1991, he was promoted to major general.

Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence on April 6, 1992, and on April 24, 1992, Mladic was further promoted to lieutenant colonel general. A little over a week later, he ordered that all routes into and out of Sarajevo be closed down, and that water and electricity supplies be shut off. The siege of Sarajevo had begun. On May 10, 1992, Mladic was given command of the 2nd Military District Headquarters of the JNA; two days later, with the creation of the VRS, he was appointed its overall commander, second only to Karadzic, who as president held the position of commander in chief. Starting in May 1992, Sarajevo was subjected not only to a blockade, but also to heavy artillery fire and sniper fire, as a campaign took hold against the civilian areas of the city, terrorizing, mutilating, and killing civilians, and destroying buildings.

The VRS then began a campaign of persecution against the Bosniak population in districts outside of Sarajevo. This aimed at driving them out through expulsions, forced displacement, arrests, murder, and imprisonment in detention centers, where they were subjected to extreme forms of physical and psychological abuse. Bosniak homes, businesses, and places of worship were also ransacked and destroyed. This policy, of what became known as “ethnic cleansing,” would typically begin with the harassment of local citizens, who would be terrorized and intimidated, often in fear of their lives, to leave their homes. Such terror could include torture, rape, beatings, mutilation, and extend to murder. Sometimes, wholesale killing of much larger numbers was undertaken. Once an area had been “cleansed” of its unwanted population, the Bosnian Serbs would move in their own people and alter the character of the region, as though the original owners had never existed. In this way, they could lay claim to the region as a right, with no one able to claim preexisting title through prior occupation.

On June 24, 1994, Mladic was promoted to the rank of colonel general, in command of some 80,000 troops. As commander in chief, Mladic had authority over the entire operations of the VRS, and therefore assumed full responsibility for its campaigns and behavior. The crimes committed by the Bosnian Serb military while Mladic was in charge were many, and, as its commanding officer, he was held by international prosecutors to bear command responsibility.

On July 24, 1995, Mladic was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. He was held to be personally responsible for the offensive he ordered in the summer of 1995 against the six so-called safe areas under UN protection (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Bihac). In the worst of these, and in full view of a watching world, Mladic fell on the city of Srebrenica between July 11 and July 22, 1995. Systematically, militias and troops from the VRS captured as many men and boys between the ages of 10 and 65 as they could find, led them out of the city, and killed them in the surrounding hills, burying them in mass graves. At least 8,000 were murdered. The women and children of Srebrenica were sent outside the borders of the Bosnian Serb entity of Republika Srpska. Mladic, as the military architect of the campaign, is thus considered by many as the war’s greatest mass killer.

Despite the ICTY indictment against him, and in defiance of the warrant put out for his arrest, Mladic continued to live quite openly after the Bosnian War ended in December 1995. He even retained his post as VRS commander and

functioned fully in that capacity. Only on November 8, 1996, did the president of Republika Srpska, Biljana Plavsic, dismiss Mladic from his post, and even then he was still so respected that he continued to receive a pension until November 2005.

Without any fear of arrest, he was often seen on the streets of the many towns he visited in an official capacity. He attended football matches, dined openly in restaurants, and was observed in a number of overseas locations. With the arrest of former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic in 2001, however, Mladic began to fear that his days of open impunity could be drawing to a close, and he went into hiding. There were many reports in the years that followed of Mladic having been sighted in Republika Srpska and Serbia, often under heavy guard. He became one of the world's most hunted men, with Serbia and the United States offering huge rewards for his capture, and Interpol launching a worldwide manhunt.

In May 2010 Mladic's family sought to have him declared officially dead. Milos Saljic, the lawyer representing the family, said they were convinced he was no longer alive, having suffered a heavy stroke in 1996 and not been seen in public for the last seven years. Under Serbian law, those over the age of 70 who have not been heard from for more than five years can be declared legally dead without a heavy burden of proof, but in the case of Mladic (who would have been 68 at the time of the petition), a court ruled that the family would have to prove that he was no longer alive.

Mladic managed to remain at large for nearly 16 years. At the end of 2009, the European Union demonstrated the level of its concern that this final chapter in the Bosnian War had to come to an end by announcing that it would delay negotiations over Serbia joining the EU until Mladic was arrested. As a result, Serbia stepped up its efforts to apprehend him, launching numerous raids on his family and known Bosnian Serb nationalist safe houses.

Finally, on May 26, 2011—the same day that an indicted Rwandan war criminal also on the run, Bernard Munyagishari, was captured—Serbian security forces arrested him in Lazarevo, Serbia, about 100 kilometers northeast of Belgrade. He was brought immediately before the Belgrade Higher Court for a hearing on whether he was fit to be extradited to The Hague; and the court ruled on May 27 that this could proceed. He was extradited on May 31, 2011, and his trial began on June 3. The charges Mladic faced were genocide; crimes against humanity (murder, torture, beatings, and rape of Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats);

extermination; murder; forcible deportation; terror and unlawful attacks against civilians; sniping and shelling against civilians; and hostage taking.

Reactions among some sections of the Serb population, both in Republika Srpska and Serbia, were spontaneous and angry. Demonstrations broke out in many towns and cities, and Mladic was described frequently as a hero of the Serbian people who was only doing what he had to do to defend all Serbs.

Mladic first appeared in court on June 3, 2011, when the charges against him were listed. After a month of postponing his plea, the court entered a not guilty plea on his behalf. He refused to accept the court-appointed lawyers provided and threatened to boycott the proceedings until they were replaced by those of his own choosing. The proceeding then adjourned until July 4. Mladic treated the bench contemptuously, refusing to take off his hat, constantly interrupting the presiding judge, Alphons Orie, and shouting demands. At one point, Mladic removed his headphones and stopped listening to the translation of the trial altogether. Orie, in response, ejected Mladic from the courtroom before the formal charges could be read. There is widespread speculation that through delaying tactics such as these Mladic is attempting to derail the trial process for as long as possible.

Mladic's trial began on May 16, 2012, and is ongoing as of this writing.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Republika Srpska; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers; Srebrenica Massacre

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Montenegro

Montenegro was the smallest of the constituent republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). It first gained formal international recognition as a sovereign state in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin. The 19th century brought increased economic and social development to the country, and it adopted its first formal constitution in 1905. Five years later, in 1910, Montenegro officially became a constitutional monarchy with Nikola I as king. Montenegro and the other emerging Balkan states cooperated to drive out what little remained of the Ottoman presence in Europe during the first of the Balkan Wars in 1912. By 1913, unity had collapsed. The second Balkan War broke out as Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece fought over the spoils of their victory against the Ottomans. The contentious nationalism of the Balkans soon became the tinderbox that lit the fuse of World War I, with the assassination on June 28, 1914, of the Austro-Hungarian archduke Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian Serb nationalist.

Following World War I, Serbia occupied Montenegro in 1918 and annexed the country to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under the leadership of Serbian king Peter Karageorgevic. Montenegro mounted a series of unsuccessful revolts against the Serbians, but by 1920 the Montenegrin Orthodox Church was banned and its property turned over to the Serbian Orthodox Church, King Nikola I was banished, and the kingdom of Montenegro was abolished. An uprising on Orthodox Christmas, January 7, 1919, triggered a guerrilla war against Serbian forces that continued sporadically until 1926.

Beginning in 1926, non-Serbian groups grew increasingly bitter and disenchanted with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1929, King Alexander, Peter's successor, responded to the growing discontent by abrogating the constitution, forming a dictatorship, and renaming the country the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (the Kingdom of Southern Slavs). His actions did little to allay non-Serb fears, and between 1929 and 1939 tensions continued to grow among the nation's ethnic groups, leading to the 1934 assassination of Alexander by the Ustashe, a Croatian fascist organization. When World War II broke out, Montenegro temporarily regained its independence through an alliance with Benito Mussolini's fascist Italy. Meanwhile, the Yugoslav government formed an unpopular alliance with Mussolini's ally, German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler. Yugoslav efforts to break this alliance led to the April 1941 German invasion of Yugoslavia.

Following the war, Montenegrins supported Josip Broz Tito's efforts to reconstitute the Yugoslav state as a communist federation divided ethnically.

Tito thus organized the country as a federation with six republics loosely divided along ethnic lines: Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. Tito's Yugoslavia was a communist state and hence more liberal political organizations were suppressed. The government moved rapidly to introduce nationalization and other instruments of communist control, but over time a less centralized model, including workers' councils that managed individual enterprises, developed. Yugoslavia gradually adopted an independent line that initially alienated Tito from the rest of the Soviet-led communist bloc. Eventually, he forged a middle way, often characterized by strained relations with both the East and the West. Not surprisingly, Tito was a key player in the formation of the nonaligned movement.

After Tito's death in 1980, his position was replaced by a collective presidency made up of representatives from each of the republics. However, the nation's economic problems, including a huge foreign debt, began to cause difficulties and the new government proved weak. Both problems facilitated a revival of the ethnic and religious rivalries that were suppressed under Tito. A nationalist movement in Serbia gained control of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and Slobodan Milosevic, an extreme nationalist, gained power in 1989. Milosevic instituted severe measures to support his nationalist cause, including press censorship and the reversal of autonomy for the Kosovo and Vojvodina regions, whose populations were predominantly ethnic Albanian and ethnic Hungarian, respectively.

The Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina all declared their independence during Milosevic's rule. War raged throughout the Balkans for a decade as Milosevic fought to keep the nation together. Numerous war crimes, including ethnic cleansing, characterized the conflict. Montenegro initially supported Milosevic, but in 1991 it accepted a European peace proposal to end the fighting, leaving Serbia as the lone Yugoslav republic to reject the deal. Montenegro again declared its sovereignty in 1991 and adopted a new constitution. However, in a 1992 referendum, Montenegrins voted to retain ties with Serbia, and another constitution was adapted reaffirming Montenegro's status as a republic within Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, relations between Serbia and Montenegro continued to deteriorate in the mid-1990s due to increased efforts by Milosevic to curtail Montenegrin nationalism.

In 1997, Montenegrin president Milo Djukanovic accused Milosevic of being unfit for public office. In 1999, the Montenegrin legislature proposed abolishing

the Yugoslav federation in favor of a more loose association between the two entities. Montenegro passed a citizenship law and adopted the German deutschmark as its national currency; Milosevic responded with a partial economic blockade, which soon became a blockade of food supplies and a full economic embargo. Also in 1999, Djukanovic refused to condemn that year's North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air strikes against Yugoslav territory in response to Milosevic's ethnic cleansing campaign against Kosovo's ethnic Albanians.

Talk of secession increased as Milosevic attempted to extend his hold over the country and take advantage of splintered opposition groups by calling early elections in September 2000. Although defeated by Vojislav Kostunica, Milosevic initially refused to step down from office, inciting massive protests and demonstrations across Serbia and in Montenegro. Shortly after Milosevic was forced to step down, the United States and the European Union (EU) lifted their sanctions against the country. Milosevic was sent to The Hague to face charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide, in connection to his wars against Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. His trial began in 2001 and continued with many delays and suspensions until his sudden death in 2006.

In attempting to bring stability to the region, EU foreign policy representative Javier Solana mediated talks between the two remaining Yugoslav republics and convinced Montenegro to form a loose confederation with Serbia. On March 14, 2002, Serbia and Montenegro signed an EU-brokered accord dismantling the Yugoslav federation and forming a new Balkan state. Under the agreement, the two became semi-independent states sharing a common foreign and defense policy but maintaining independent economies, customs services, and currencies. The new union of Serbia and Montenegro was officially established in February 2003 by the approval of a new Constitutional Charter for a period of three years. At the end of the three-year period, the charter granted both Montenegro and Serbia the opportunity to reevaluate the agreement and choose to opt out of the union.

The Montenegrin government scheduled a referendum on continued alliance with Serbia for May 21, 2006, despite Serbian opposition. President Filip Vujanovic and Prime Minister Djukanovic led the independence campaign, while opposition political parties representing Serbs in Montenegro lobbied to continue the union. Acceding to EU pressure, the government agreed that, for the decision to be valid, 55 percent of voters must choose independence. With

more than 80 percent of eligible voters participating, 55.5 percent of Montenegrins voted to sever the confederation with Serbia, and on June 3, 2006, the nation once again declared its independence. After leading Montenegro for nearly a decade, first as president and then as prime minister, Djukanovic left the government in October 2006, shortly after his Democratic Party of Socialists secured victory in the nation's first legislative elections since independence. The Democratic Party of Socialists named Zeljko Sturanovic as his successor. Sturanovic would not stay in office long, however, as illness hampered his ministership and prompted him to resign in January 2008. Djukanovic was promptly nominated to the post again and was elected in February. In April 2008, the country's first presidential election since it achieved full independence was held, and the incumbent Vujanovic emerged the clear winner.

John B. Allcock

See also: Albania; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatia; Serbia; Yugoslavia

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Mothers of Srebrenica

Formed in 1996, the Bosnian political advocacy organization, Mothers of Srebrenica, is comprised of Bosniak women whose husbands and sons were lost to the 1995 Srebrenica genocide. Before the war, these women were homemakers living in the small villages around Srebrenica. Had the July 1995 Srebrenica tragedy not befallen them, it is unlikely they would have become political activists or public figures. Yet, the Mothers of Srebrenica have proven adept activists, crucial to Bosnia's postconflict transitional justice. In their initial 1996 action, to protest the poorly handled investigation into the fate of the tens of thousands missing from Srebrenica, the Mothers occupied Tuzla's Red Cross offices. They demanded that the truth behind Srebrenica's crimes be revealed

and publicized, all those responsible held accountable, and survivors receive restitution and right of return to their prewar homes.

Since that time, in lobbying for truth, justice, and reconciliation, the Mothers' ever-evolving toolbox of nonviolent tactics has included strategic media engagement, public demonstrations, peaceful marches, and educational campaigns, as well as art-therapy workshops for survivors and interethnic cooperation with Serbian and Kosovar women seeking missing loved ones. As their national stature and international visibility have grown, their activities have expanded to larger commemorative projects and greater actions toward social repair. The most visible of these activities is the annual July 11th Srebrenica commemoration. Each year tens of thousands (including international heads of state, diplomats, and United Nations [UN] delegates) gather amid prayers, speeches, and calls for global social justice. The ceremony is a cathartic rallying point for Bosniaks and an important annual ritual that engraves Srebrenica's memory on the consciousness of the international community. The Mothers were also instrumental in establishing the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial Center, which encompasses the dedicated cemetery for Srebrenica's victims and memorial space with artifacts and victims' stories.

Additionally, the Mothers have cultivated stronger interethnic cooperative solidarity efforts. Their work with Serbian mothers searching for their loved ones contributes substantially to postconflict healing. The Mothers have also established a "Children of Srebrenica" foundation, providing educational support to those who lost one or both parents in the genocide. Further, they organize artistic workshops for affected children. The ensuing artworks are then sold as postcards to support the foundation.

The international impact of the Mothers' work has also been remarkable. In November 1999, the UN secretary-general officially acknowledged that the UN failed to protect Srebrenica. In August 2001, in the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia's first genocide conviction, General Radislav Krstic received a 46-year sentence for his role in the Srebrenica Massacre, establishing the 1995 atrocities as genocide under international law. Moreover, in 2002, Dutch prime minister Wim Kok took responsibility for the Dutch troops' failure to protect Srebrenica. Kok resigned, as did all 29 of his party's parliamentary ministers. Dutch Army chief of staff, General Ad van Baal, followed suit.

Similar to Argentina's Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the Mothers of Srebrenica root their activism in motherhood. Their public image is predicated

on a dual identity—grieving mother and aggrieved victim. Yet, even as womanhood is central to their advocacy, the Mothers of Srebrenica eschew the “feminist” label. Still, in organizing to speak truth to power while simultaneously creating an inherent climate of social support for Srebrenica’s widows and, moreover, for women of all ethnicities, the Mothers of Srebrenica challenge the image of women as passive victims.

Christina M. Morus

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Rape Warfare; Srebrenica Massacre; Women in Black

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Nogic, Inela

Inela Nogic is a Bosniak woman who achieved worldwide fame at the age of 17 when, during the siege of Sarajevo, she won the 1993 Miss Sarajevo beauty pageant, held in a basement to avoid sniper attacks from Bosnian Serb militias.

Born into a strict Muslim family in 1976 in Sarajevo, she was a good student in school. With the outbreak of war in Bosnia in 1992, however, her neighborhood became known colloquially as “Little Hiroshima” owing to the destruction that soon ravaged it. Nogic and her friends decided to make the best of the situation by not succumbing to the horrors and deprivations around them. An attractive young woman in a city renowned for what some have termed “Sarajevo style”—a combination of French chic and Italian flair—the pretty blonde commented to reporters during the siege that maintaining a good appearance through attention to hair and makeup was a way for young women to show those bent on their murder that youth, beauty, and life would win out over the forces that otherwise would destroy them.

In 1993, Inela Nogic became the symbol of that attitude for all young Bosniak women. As the siege continued, the idea of organizing a beauty pageant, “Miss Sarajevo 1993,” came from a group of young Sarajevans committed to maintaining the life of the city and showing the world that the conditions under which they were living were intolerable even though their spirit would not be broken.

Once the competition was announced, Inela Nogic was encouraged to enter by her mother. European aid agencies and NATO administrators, taken with the idea of a beauty pageant right under the noses of those seeking the destruction of the city, ensured that the contest, which took place on May 29, 1993, would be transmitted across the world. While it was inspiring, it was also sad to watch. Many of the young women participating, clearly affected by the siege and the war, appeared undernourished and sickly. At the end of the pageant, in an especially poignant moment, Nogic and the other contestants held up a banner that read “DON’T LET THEM KILL US!”

An American journalist and film director, Bill Carter, had arrived in Sarajevo in the winter of 1993 to work with The Serious Road Trip, an aid organization

founded in London in 1991 for the purpose of delivering food to orphans affected by totalitarian collapse and war. While he was in Sarajevo he shot hundreds of hours of video, including coverage of the Miss Sarajevo pageant. In discussion with the lead singer of the rock band U2, the Irish-born Bono (Paul David Hewson), Carter proposed an idea: to film a documentary based on Sarajevo's underground resistance movement. Bono reputedly jumped at the idea, not only to produce the film but also to provide the necessary funds to support the project.

The result was a film entitled *Miss Sarajevo*. Subsequently broadcast across the globe, it provoked a viewer response calling for an end to the siege and the bloodshed in Bosnia. Later, Bono and U2, together with musician Brian Eno, and featuring a cameo solo by famed opera singer Luciano Pavarotti, employed footage from the film in order to create a film clip for a single of the same name. Inela Nagic was featured on the cover of the single.

Nagic was to say later that the objective of the pageant was to show that the war was about more than just men and guns, but that women also had a part to play in defying the aims of the killers through raising morale and embracing life. In Balkan tradition—whether it is Serb, Bosniak, or Croatian—the noun “*inat*” translates roughly into a notion of actions taken “in spite of the consequences.” It embodies a spirit of defiance regardless of what might come next, rather as the untranslatable Hebrew word “*davka*” suggests behavior in spite of the concerns of others. Nagic's *inat* was thus symbolic of a wider defiance relating to Sarajevo's struggle to retain its humanity regardless of the siege that was strangling the city.

Popular imagination soon created the urban legend that the winner of the Miss Sarajevo pageant had been killed by sniper fire, but it is possible to speculate that the Miss Sarajevo pageant may have in fact potentially saved Inela Nagic's life. As a result of the publicity her win generated, she met a Dutch journalist, and a year later the couple moved to the Netherlands, where they settled down and had two children. She then studied graphic design and took up residence in Amsterdam.

In 1997 U2 was scheduled to perform in Sarajevo, the first band able to host a concert in the city since the end of the war. Bono contacted Nagic, then doing modeling work in France. He organized for his private plane to convey her from Nice to Sarajevo, where she was met by NATO military authorities at the airport. They then escorted her to the concert at the Kosevo Stadium along with

the band members, and Bono sang *Miss Sarajevo* in her presence as U2's special guest.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Sarajevo, Siege of; Sniper Alley

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization

The involvement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the Yugoslav conflict was closely intertwined with the post–Cold War adaptation of NATO itself. Many observers suggested that if NATO could not play a role in a conflict on its doorstep, such as that in Yugoslavia, then the alliance had little future. NATO, it was argued, must go “out of area” or go out of business. The Yugoslav conflict also provoked bitter disputes within NATO and between the alliance and the other international organizations involved in the conflict.

Initially, NATO played relatively little role in international efforts toward conflict management in Yugoslavia. The European Community (EC) led the international mediation efforts, and the United Nations (UN) played the central role in military peacekeeping. The relative disengagement of the United States from the early stages of the conflict further weakened NATO’s role in the former Yugoslavia.

Gradually, however, NATO came to play a growing role in the conflict. From July 1992, NATO naval forces monitored and enforced the UN arms embargo and economic sanctions against the former Yugoslavia in the Adriatic Sea as part of Operation SHARP GUARD. From October 1992, NATO air forces monitored (and from March 1993, enforced) the UN-established no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina. In June 1993, the UN Security Council authorized “all necessary measures, through the use of air power” to support the UNPROFOR peacekeeping force in deterring attacks on the six UN-designated “safe areas.” This brought NATO air forces more directly into the Yugoslav conflict. There were disputes, however, among NATO’s members and with the UN about the circumstances in and the extent to which air strikes should be used. Authorization for the use of air power was provided by a complex “dual-key” arrangement, requiring both NATO and UN agreement for any air strikes. This arrangement, combined with the vulnerability of the United Nations

Protection Force (UNPROFOR) peacekeepers on the ground, limited the use and impact of NATO air power at this stage in the conflict.

Disputes over the use of NATO air power became intertwined with wider Western differences over policy toward the Yugoslav conflict, provoking some of the most bitter internal disputes in NATO's history. In 1993, the Bill Clinton administration came to power advocating a policy of "lift and strike"—that is, lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims in order to enable them to defend themselves, and using air strikes against any Bosnian Serb or Bosnian Croat aggression. The United States was unable to persuade its allies, particularly the United Kingdom and France, the largest contributors to UNPROFOR, to support this policy. The United States accused Western Europeans of appeasement in the face of Serbian aggression and ethnic cleansing. Western European states pointed out that the United States was unwilling to deploy ground forces of its own and that any air strikes would make their own forces on the ground vulnerable targets for retaliation. The disagreements were so serious that observers suggested they threatened the very future of NATO itself. The overrunning of the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa by Bosnian Serb forces in July 1995 brought the issue to a head and paved the way for NATO to take a central role in managing the Yugoslav conflict. UNPROFOR was strengthened by the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force and the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from vulnerable positions; NATO began to plan for more widespread airstrikes, and the dual-key arrangement with the UN was abandoned. In late August 1995, after a Bosnian Serb mortar attack on Sarajevo, NATO initiated a three-week campaign of airstrikes against Bosnian Serb forces—Operation DELIBERATE FORCE, which resulted in the Bosnian Serbs agreeing to a cease-fire and eventually led to the Dayton Agreement.

The Dayton Peace Agreement confirmed the central role of NATO in the Bosnian peace process. A 60,000-strong NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) was deployed in December 1995 to enforce the peace and implement the military components of the Dayton Accords. In contrast to UNPROFOR, IFOR had the mandate, military means, and political backing necessary to maintain the fragile peace in Bosnia and for the first time included U.S. ground forces. In 1997 IFOR was renamed the Stabilization Force (SFOR) and its size was reduced to 36,000 troops. Early in 1998, NATO members agreed to a further extension of SFOR's mission with no clear time limit. The presence of the NATO force was widely believed to be essential to maintaining the fragile peace in Bosnia, whereas, it was thought, its withdrawal might well result in renewed fighting. The issue

remained contentious within NATO. There remained strong pressures in the U.S. Congress for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Bosnia at some point. The United States' European allies, however, were reluctant to remain in Bosnia without the involvement of U.S. ground forces. Additionally, if serious violence were to break out in Kosovo and/or Macedonia, NATO might be called upon to play a role in any military intervention, again raising difficult issues for the alliance's members. As of early 1998, therefore, the longer-term role of NATO in the former Yugoslavia remained uncertain.

NATO's involvement in the Yugoslav conflict also led the alliance to cooperate closely with states and international organizations with which it had not previously worked. In Operation SHARP GUARD, NATO worked closely with the Western European Union (WEU). In supporting UNPROFOR, NATO worked closely with the UN, although the relationship was uneasy because of differences over the use of air strikes. I/SFOR worked closely with the various civilian agencies involved in the Dayton peace process, particularly the UN's High Representative and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). NATO also worked closely with a number of states outside the alliance. Hungary allowed NATO air surveillance operations to be undertaken from its airspace and the deployment of I/SFOR from its territory; Albania cooperated with NATO in enforcing the embargo in the Adriatic Sea; and 14 non-NATO countries (including Russia) participated in I/SFOR.

NATO's involvement in the Yugoslav conflict marked the organization's transition from a traditional defense alliance to a wider peacekeeping and peace enforcement body. The Yugoslav conflict, however, also highlighted the problems NATO would face in playing such a role.

Andrew S. Cottey

See also: Clinton, Bill; Dayton Peace Accords; European Union; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations; United Nations Protection Force

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Nuhanovic, Hasan

Hasan Nuhanovic is a Bosniak survivor of the Srebrenica genocide, and a leading voice calling for appropriate recognition of the failures of the United Nations (UN) in permitting the Srebrenica genocide of July 1995. Born on April 2, 1968, in Zvornik, Bosnia-Herzegovina, he was a student at Sarajevo University studying mechanical engineering before the outbreak of war intervened in April 1992. His father, Ibro Nuhanovic, was a manager and businessman; his mother, Nasiha, made the family home, while his brother, Muhamed, was enrolled in high school.



Hasan Nuhanovic, a Bosniak survivor of the genocidal massacre at Srebrenica, and arguably the best-known campaigner on the issue of international complicity in the massacre and its aftermath. Nuhanovic has worked tirelessly for justice for all victims of the massacre and their families. (AP Photo/Fred Ernst)

This comfortable existence came to a crashing halt with the start of the war. The Nuhanovic family narrowly escaped the 1992 massacre of about 2,600 Bosniaks by Bosnian Serb forces in the region of Vlasenica. As luck would have it, Hasan had come home that weekend from Sarajevo, enabling the whole family to leave together. They went to Srebrenica, where Ibro's brother lived, and remained in the city for the next three years. In early 1993, by UN Security Council Resolution 819, Srebrenica was declared a "safe zone," after which UN troops entered the city to guarantee its safety. Hasan Nuhanovic, who spoke fluent English, was taken on as an interpreter. For the next two years, the Nuhanovic family lived in relative peace, and Hasan Nuhanovic stayed on as a

translator-interpreter after the Canadian UN contingent was relieved by a force of soldiers from the Netherlands, code-named Dutchbat.

In holding out, as Bosnia's capital city, Sarajevo, was doing, Srebrenica became a symbol of Bosniak resistance throughout the war, but on July 6, 1995, its defiance came to an end. Encouraged by UN equivocation over whether or not to maintain the safe areas initiative, Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic led a 10-day campaign to take over Srebrenica and subject it to the process known as "ethnic cleansing." As the campaign was getting under way, thousands of Srebrenica's men and boys fled the city in order to reach Muslim fighters beyond the hills, hoping to lead them back to defend the city. The women, children, and elderly were for the most part loaded onto Serb-chartered buses and evacuated. Upon taking the city, and overrunning the UN base at nearby Potocari (where the members of the Dutch peacekeepers had been sheltering thousands of Bosniaks), Mladic's soldiers began hunting down the Muslim men who were then straggling through Serb-controlled lines. Capturing them in small groups, the Serbs concentrated them in larger numbers in fields, sports grounds, schools, and factories, where they were slaughtered in the thousands. It is impossible to arrive at anything but an approximation of the number killed, as many mass graves are yet to be located, and population figures from before the fall of the city are imprecise, owing to the large number of uncounted refugees who had earlier flooded into the city. Best estimates have fluctuated between 7,000 and 8,000 killed.

Nuhanovic, anticipating that his position as a translator-interpreter would provide some measure of protection, brought his family into the Dutchbat base at Potocari. Ibro Nuhanovic was then delegated as one of three representatives of the Bosniak population to negotiate with Mladic on the future status of the refugees. These "negotiations" were a sham and were never intended to have an outcome that would be humanitarian or just.

On July 12–13, 1995, Hasan Nuhanovic spent the night with his parents and brother in a makeshift office on the UN base at Potocari, under the orders of a Dutch officer, Major Andre de Haan. On the morning of July 13, sometime between 5:00 and 6:00 a.m., de Haan informed Nuhanovic that the Bosniaks in the base were to be evacuated. All 5,000 people then secure in the base would have to leave. As Nuhanovic inquired what this was to mean for his family, de Haan ordered him to tell the family that they must leave the base. Another Dutch soldier then said "Hasan, tell your family to leave right now!" Over Nuhanovic's anguished protests, Dutchbat troops then ushered them out. As they went,

Nuhanovic made to join them, but his 19-year-old brother, Muhamed, convinced him to stay. That was the last time Hasan Nuhanovic saw any of them alive.

Outside, in full view of the Dutch troops, Serb soldiers separated men and boys from their wives, mothers, and sisters. Hasan Nuhanovic and a handful of other local staff left later with the Dutchbat troops, after orders came for them to withdraw to Zagreb, Croatia.

Following the war, Nuhanovic continued to work for a variety of international organizations as a translator, at the same time campaigning ceaselessly to establish the truth about the genocide and bring to account those responsible for his family's deaths. He was instrumental in establishing the Srebrenica Genocide Memorial at Potocari, literally across the road from the former Dutchbat base, where, each year on the anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica, the remains of those victims identified by DNA testing over the course of the previous year are interred. He has also been active in providing evidence in a number of trials of alleged war criminals at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia at The Hague.

Nuhanovic maintains that, far from being passive bystanders, the officers of Dutchbat were active participants in the genocide, even to the extent of assisting people onto the buses that would take them out of the city and thereby "ethnically cleanse" Srebrenica of its Bosniaks. Although working with the Dutchbat troops—soldiers who knew him personally—Nuhanovic and his family, by virtue of their religion and ethnicity, became targets for genocide. Nuhanovic and the family of Rizo Mustafic, an electrician who worked for the UN and was also ordered to leave the Potocari base, have since taken legal action against the Netherlands in Dutch civil courts for redress over the deaths of their family members. The action includes allegations, inter alia, that the Dutch state was involved in genocide and violated fundamental human rights by handing the family members of Nuhanovic and Mustafic to the Bosnian Serbs.

In its initial hearing of the case, the District Court in The Hague found against Nuhanovic and the Mustafic family. After an appeal, the Court again dismissed the case against the Netherlands, ruling that the Dutch soldiers had acted under the UN flag, and that the Netherlands could therefore not be held accountable. Then, in September 2008, the Court again sided with the Dutch state.

In July 2010 Nuhanovic filed a new lawsuit, this time against the commanders of Dutchbat, citing their personal and command responsibility for Dutchbat participation in the ethnic cleansing of Srebrenica. On July 5, 2011,

after battling the Dutch state for nine years, Nuhanovic received vindication when a historic decision by an appeals court in The Hague placed the blame squarely on the Dutch government's shoulders, ruling that the Netherlands was responsible for the deaths in view of the fact that Dutchbat officers were in effective control of their troops, and should not have turned the victims over to the Serbs. The court found that Nuhanovic's family was forced off the base on July 13, 1995, and did not leave voluntarily.

Hasan Nuhanovic has campaigned tirelessly in pursuit of truth, justice, and recognition with regard to what happened at Srebrenica in July 1995. As well as his legal and investigative work, he has also written a highly detailed chronology of the events at Srebrenica, *Under the UN Flag*, in which he examines the responsibility and guilt of the international community before, during, and after those crisis days. In raising consciousness about the genocide, and working unceasingly not only for himself but for all families and all victims, a Bosnian journalist, Dragan Stanimirovic, has labeled Nuhanovic the "Elie Wiesel of Bosnia."

For many years, Nuhanovic was unaware of the whereabouts of the remains of his father, mother, and brother. Slowly, identification of body parts was able to be made, and gradually he was able to arrange for their interment at the Potocari Memorial Cemetery. On Sunday July 11, 2010—almost 15 years to the day since he was told to relay the order for their evacuation from the Dutchbat base—Hasan Nuhanovic was able finally to lay to rest the recently identified remains of his mother and brother, alongside those of his father. It was the first time the whole family had been together, in any sense of the word, since July 13, 1995.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosniaks; Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers; Srebrenica Massacre

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O

Omarska

Omarska camp was a notorious concentration camp established by the Serbs in May 1992 to detain Croats and Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) in the aftermath of ethnic cleansing in the municipality of Prijedor. The camp was located in northwestern Bosnia's Prijedor Province at the site of an abandoned iron ore mine. Prisoners there were subjected to starvation, terrible overcrowding, rape, torture, beatings, and murder. Although it is not known exactly how many may have perished in the facility, which was only in operation until August 1992, estimates range from hundreds to a thousand or more. A number of individuals responsible for the establishment and operation of Omarska were later successfully prosecuted for crimes against humanity.

Serb records pertaining to Omarska indicate that a total of 3,335 people—the vast majority of them Bosniak men—were detained at the camp from about May 25, 1992, until August 20, 1995. Outside officials, however, have estimated that the number of detainees may have been closer to 5,000–7,000. Serbs imprisoned most of the detainees after they had fled their homes during Serbian assaults against the town. The Serbs claimed to be holding them because they had been involved in “paramilitary activities” against Serb forces, a charge that had virtually no basis in truth.

The conditions at Omarska were appalling. Prisoners had no access to medical care or adequate potable water supplies. Many became ill or died from drinking contaminated water. There were virtually no sanitation facilities, which meant that much of the camp quickly became an open sewer. Overcrowding was so bad that some internees suffocated during the night; their bodies would be pulled out of their cells in the morning and thrown into mass graves. At best, prisoners were fed one meal per day, usually a small piece of bread and perhaps some rancid jelly. Many were beaten for real or imagined infractions and tortured when they would not provide Serb authorities with the information they sought, and women were routinely raped and abused. Foreign visitors likened the facility to a Nazi concentration camp during World War II.

Survivors have testified that on some nights, anywhere between 30 and 150 men were taken out of their cells and tortured or killed. Inmates were normally

killed by way of beating, shooting, or throat slashing. Prisoners were often forced to bury the victims of these crimes; many never returned, and it is presumed that they too were murdered. On one evening in late July 1992, a group of prisoners were burned atop a pile of old tires; survivors claim that some were still alive and struggled as the flames consumed them. In early August 1992, a group of foreign journalists visited Omarska and immediately publicized the horrors there. The Serbs shut down the facility by month's end, but there were still more than 675 other camps in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina that remained operational.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosniaks; Concentration Camps; Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Rape Camps; Rape Warfare; Sexual Violence against Women

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Operation ALLIED FORCE

Operation ALLIED FORCE was the code name of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign against Serbian assets in the province of Kosovo between March 24 and June 10, 1999. The operation effectively ended the Kosovo War, forced Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian forces out of Kosovo, and paved the way for the insertion of a large peacekeeping force into Kosovo under NATO command and a UN mandate, known as the Kosovo Force, or KFOR.

The Kosovo War began in earnest in February 1998 when attacks against Serb police and security forces by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) invited retaliation by Serb forces and the military of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) under Milosevic. Although both sides in the conflict were perpetrating atrocities against the other, including civilians, Milosevic's forces, which were more numerous and better armed, gradually accelerated the violence. This encompassed ethnic cleansing on what was still a somewhat limited scale, but the conflict was creating a dire humanitarian emergency as thousands of Albanian Kosovars were fleeing their homes. Many seeking refuge in adjacent areas were also being attacked. Meanwhile, Serbian police, paramilitary units, and Yugoslav army troops ratcheted up the violence in late 1998 and early 1999.

After the Serb-perpetrated massacre at Racak on January 15, 1999, which resulted in the deaths of 45 Albanian Kosovars, NATO leaders, particularly U.S. president Bill Clinton and British prime minister Tony Blair, decided to sponsor peace talks at Rambouillet, France. Those negotiations commenced on February 6. The talks quickly became deadlocked, however, as neither side was willing to compromise to allay the other. U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright

attempted to break the impasse by offering an incentive to both sides. If Milosevic did not agree to a comprehensive peace plan, NATO would commence a bombing campaign against his troops and strongholds in the region. If the Albanian Kosovars failed to agree to the peace offer, NATO would withdraw all support from the KLA and permit Milosevic to do as he wished in Kosovo. A tentative peace deal was brokered on March 19, but the Serbs and their Russian allies refused to abide by the agreement.

Operation ALLIED FORCE began on March 24. It included 19 nations: Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Britain, and the United States. During the 78-day campaign, a total of 277 aircraft were used (192 bombers and fighters, 63 support aircraft, 19 reconnaissance aircraft, and 3 attack helicopters). They flew sorties day and night and were aided by NATO naval assets in the Adriatic Sea. Most NATO members, including the United States, were reluctant to employ ground troops in Kosovo. Indeed, the only NATO leader willing to use them was Tony Blair, who actually placed British troops on standby readiness for rapid deployment if necessary.

Operation ALLIED FORCE faced a number of criticisms at the time. Some decried the use of unilateral force in the absence of a UN Security Council mandate (the UN approved of the campaign, but only retroactively). Others argued that NATO's unwillingness to insert ground troops into Kosovo prolonged the war and actually emboldened Serb forces to ramp up their ethnic cleansing. This was at least partly true, as most of the ethnic cleansing occurred between March and June 1999 (between 6,000 and 10,000 Albanian Kosovars died during this period). Still others pointed to the inevitable deaths due to "collateral damage." At least 500 civilians died as a result of ALLIED FORCE, and U.S. bombers mistakenly hit the Chinese embassy in Belgrade on May 7, killing three Chinese journalists and straining Sino-American relations. Some detractors also pointed out that although NATO stood by idly while genocide was unleashed in Rwanda in 1994, it was quite willing to intervene in a much smaller genocide in Europe only five years later, hinting that the Kosovo intervention was racially motivated.

On the upside of things, ALLIED FORCE seemed to reinvigorate NATO, redefining its role in a murky post-Cold War world. It also established a precedent for future humanitarian-based interventions and placed other world leaders on notice that wars of aggression, human rights abuses, genocide, ethnic

cleansing, and genocide would not be tolerated by the international community. The operation also seemed to vindicate the adherents of strategic air power. NATO forces suffered no casualties during the campaign, although two American pilots died when their AH-64 Apache suffered a malfunction and crashed. Serbian forces suffered 5,000–10,000 soldiers and police killed and several more hundred wounded.

Operation ALLIED FORCE certainly attained its primary goal of forcing Milosevic's forces from Kosovo. The insertion of KFOR ensured that peace would be maintained, that thousands of Albanian Kosovar refugees could return to their homes, and that the battered Kosovo Province could begin reconstruction efforts. The bombing campaign also dealt a stinging rebuke to Milosevic, who ended the conflict amid plunging popularity in Yugoslavia. Indeed, he was forced from power in October 2000.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Blair, Tony; Clark, Wesley; Clinton, Bill; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo; Kosovo War; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Rambouillet Accords; United Nations

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Operation HORSESHOE

"Operation HORSESHOE" was the name given by the German government of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder to an alleged plan by the government of Serbia to expel the entire Muslim population from its southern territory of Kosovo, in March 1999.

The details of the alleged operation were announced by the German foreign minister, Joseph Martin ("Joschka") Fischer on April 6, 1999. According to this, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic had told Fischer in early March that he had a plan to finish off the Kosovar Albanians within a week; later, a briefing by German defense minister Rudolf Scharping showed that the Serbian military forces and police were already positioning themselves to surround Kosovo, employing a horseshoe-shaped strategy. Elsewhere, the news media in Britain, the United States, and other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries also provided allegations of such a plan, London's *Times* going so far as to suggest that Operation HORSESHOE was a preconceived maneuver about which the CIA had known for some time already.

On the understanding that Operation HORSESHOE was an active policy, NATO pointed to a systematic program of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, in which a clear statement of intent existed that led all the way to the top of the Serbian government. As soon as the first allegations were made, however, they were immediately denied in Belgrade. Milosevic asserted that the whole thing was a fabrication, and subsequent references by Serbian officials (when not refuting the plan outright) argued that a strategy named "Horseshoe" *did* exist, but that it applied to an altogether different course of action that had nothing to do with Serbian considerations regarding Kosovo.

To this day, the term remains a controversial one, still eliciting denials from Serbia. There is no doubt, however, that in its time, during the spring of 1999, the ongoing affirmation of Operation HORSESHOE's existence provided NATO

with a public justification for its military campaign in Kosovo and Serbia. The intervention was thus portrayed as a measure to stop an ethnic cleansing campaign that was then proceeding according to a set plan and employing a definite strategy.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Albania; Kosovo; Kosovo War; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Serbia; United Nations

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Oric, Naser

Naser Oric was the commander of Bosniak forces in and around the city of Srebrenica between 1992 and 1995. He was born on March 3, 1967, in Potocari, about five kilometers from Srebrenica itself. In 1985 he was conscripted into the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA), where he served in a special unit for atomic and chemical defense, and was promoted to the rank of corporal. Upon finishing his period of service, he joined the police force and saw service in special actions in 1990 in Kosovo. Upon his return to Belgrade he became a bodyguard to Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. In late 1991, he was made police chief in Potocari.

When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence on April 6, 1992, the new Bosnian government immediately turned its attention to defense. That same day the country was invaded by the JNA, and on April 8, 1992, a Bosnia-Herzegovina Territorial Defense Force was established. By the middle of the month, Naser Oric, as a trained soldier, became commander of local security in Potocari. Soon, he was given the task of organizing the defenses of Srebrenica, then of the entire region covering several municipalities. On July 1, 1992, he became a member of Srebrenica's local defense council.

Throughout the war the Srebrenica region saw heavy fighting, and hundreds of victims, including civilians, fell in the first year. The town at the center of the municipality became a Bosniak enclave surrounded by Serbs. Between April 1992 and March 1993, the Srebrenica town and its surrounding villages were constantly subjected to Serb military assaults, including artillery attacks, sniper fire, and air bombardment. Each attack followed a similar pattern. Serb soldiers and paramilitaries would surround a Bosniak village, call upon the people to surrender their weapons, and then open fire with indiscriminate shelling and shooting. In most cases, they would then enter the village, expel or kill the population, and destroy their homes. During this period, Srebrenica was daily

subjected to random shelling from all directions. Nearby Potocari, in particular, as a sensitive point in the defense line around Srebrenica, was a daily target for Serb artillery and infantry. Other Bosniak villages were also routinely attacked. All this resulted in a great number of refugees and casualties.

The Serbian takeover of the regional municipalities of Bratunac and Srebrenica during 1992 signaled the beginning of large-scale ethnic cleansing. Once towns and villages were securely in their hands, the Serb forces—the military, the police, the paramilitaries, and sometimes even Serb villagers—applied the same pattern: Muslim houses and apartments were systematically ransacked or burnt down, and Muslim villagers were rounded up or captured, sometimes being beaten or killed in the process. Men and women were separated. In a number of villages around Srebrenica the Bosniak population began to organize local resistance groups. Naser Oric, who saw himself as a man of action, was one of the leaders.

At the start, however, he found few local supporters, and his small group of militiamen possessed only hunting rifles or automatic rifles from the police armory in Srebrenica. Oric's first major attack on the Serbs took place on April 20, 1992, in Potocari, when his forces successfully ambushed a number of vehicles of local Serbian police and the notorious Serb paramilitary group, the Tigers, led by Zeljko Raznatovic, also known as "Arkan." Immediately thereafter, regular troops from the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA) started artillery assaults against Oric's stronghold in Potocari and surrounding villages.

In early May 1992 the Bosniak forces began to assault the Serbs in and around Srebrenica, and the Serbs began to flee or were driven out. Bosniak forces retook control of the Srebrenica regional district on May 9. Oric then began to enlarge the area under his control through attacks on Serb villages around the town.

In 1994 he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. It was later alleged by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) that he authorized numerous raids into nearby Serb villages in which the troops under his command engaged in acts of destruction, pillage, torture, imprisonment, and murder. Long after the end of the war, in April 2003, Oric was arrested and transferred to The Hague for trial. In October 2004 he appeared before the ICTY in a clear case of command responsibility, charged with war crimes. He was the first Bosniak to be charged with such crimes committed in the Srebrenica area, and public opinion was widely split between

those who saw him as a heroic defender of his people and those who considered him to be a major war criminal. These opposing viewpoints were compounded by those who supported his defense of the city but condemned him as a criminal and war profiteer who made a fortune on the black market in Srebrenica. A Serb allegation was that the Srebrenica genocide of July 1995, carried out by units of the Army of Republika Srpska's Drina Corps—all local men—took place as a revenge measure against Oric's alleged ransacking of the Serb areas in the region.

In 2006 the ICTY found Oric guilty on some of the charges in the indictment, and sentenced him to imprisonment for two years. He was acquitted of direct involvement in the murder of prisoners, but found guilty of negligence in that he did not exercise sufficient command responsibility over the actions of the men under his control. ICTY chief prosecutor Carla Del Ponte announced on July 31, 2006, that she would appeal the two-year sentence, saying it was too short. Instead, she demanded a sentence of 18 years, but the tribunal disagreed. Given that Oric had by this stage already been incarcerated on remand for over three years, the court ordered that time already served would suffice for his sentence. On July 3, 2008, the ICTY Appeals Chamber reversed the Trial Chamber's conviction and acquitted Oric of all charges. He was released immediately and returned to a hero's welcome in Sarajevo a few days later, after which he traveled to his home in Tuzla.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Del Ponte, Carla; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Srebrenica Massacre

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Ostojic, Velibor

Velibor Ostojic is a Bosnian Serb academic and politician who played a key role in Radovan Karadzic's government before, during, and after the 1992–1995 Bosnian War. As such, he has been implicated in the commission of massacres, mass rapes, and other crimes against humanity.

Velibor Ostojic was born in Foca, a town in southeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, on August 8, 1945. Ostojic became a literature professor, but when war broke out in the former Yugoslavia he became involved in nationalist politics for the Bosnian Serbs. Eventually, he was named minister of information for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and became a member of Karadzic's inner governing circle. As the Bosnian War began, he was also reportedly a member of the Crisis Committee for Foca, which sought to institute ethnic cleansing in the region by killing or expelling all Muslims currently residing there.

As the war progressed, Ostojic allegedly procured weapons for Karadzic's SDS forces and helped organize paramilitary forces from Serbia to aid the Bosnian Serb army. Worse still, Ostojic and the other members of the Crisis Committee established "rape" concentration centers, where perhaps several thousand women, some as young as 15, were repeatedly raped and kept as sex slaves by Serbian and Bosnian Serb officials and military troops. In an effort to cleanse the region of Muslims, all mosques and other symbols of Muslim culture were destroyed. At least 22,000 Muslims fled the region, and as many as 2,700 others were reported dead or missing, likely victims of mass killings and massacres. Ostojic certainly knew about these activities and condoned them; others have alleged that he knowingly ordered such carnage and destruction in his desire to rid the Foca region of Muslims. Human Rights Watch has interviewed scores of survivors and witnesses who have corroborated these allegations.

When the conflict began, Ostojic and his cohorts ordered all Muslims to turn in their weapons and leave the area. Those who did not do so promptly were to be arrested, placed in a nearby prisons doubling as a concentration center, or be killed. Ostojic also used his power as minister of information to ensure that negative publicity about Bosnian Serb atrocities was minimized. At the same time, he and his agency sought to stifle any opposition and concocted false stories about crimes being committed by opposition forces. He repeatedly denied that Muslim civilians and Croats were being held in a series of concentration camps, asserting that only armed Muslims were being detained. In 1995, Ostojic was made deputy prime minister, a reward for his loyalty to Karadzic.

Despite much evidence and eyewitness testimony, Ostojic was never indicted for war crimes. Quite ironically, he later served as chief of a human rights commission assembled at the behest of Bosnia's parliament. The appointment outraged many survivors of the ethnic cleansing in the Foca area.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Foca; Karadzic, Radovan

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Owen, David

Lord David Owen, Baron Owen of Plymouth, is a British politician, who, over a long and varied career, played an important role in British foreign affairs in both the Labour (1960–1981) and Social Democratic (1981–1990) parties. Born on July 2, 1938, in Plympton, England, he studied medicine at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, before commencing specialized training in neurology and psychiatry at St. Thomas's Hospital in 1959. He qualified as a medical doctor in 1962.

Owen joined the Labour Party and the Fabian Society in 1960 and in 1964 ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the House of Commons. He entered Parliament by winning the seat of Plymouth Sutton in 1966 and remained the member for this constituency (and its successor, after an electoral redistribution) until 1992, when he resigned his seat upon elevation to the peerage.

Between 1977 and 1979 Owen served as British foreign secretary in the Labour government of James Callaghan but, early in 1981, disillusioned with Labour policies in a number of areas, Owen and three other senior Labour politicians broke away to form the Social Democratic Party (SDP), a moderate left-leaning party. Twenty-eight other Labour MPs and one Conservative joined the new party, which, by the end of the year, had allied itself with the Liberal Party to form the SDP-Liberal Alliance. Owen then led the SDP on two occasions; from 1983 to 1987, during the Alliance years and, after the merger of the two parties to form the Liberal Democrats, between 1988 and 1990 as leader of the much smaller “continuing SDP.”

In August 1992 he was chosen—controversially, in some quarters—by British prime minister John Major to succeed Lord Peter Carrington as cochairman of the European Union's (EU) Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia (commonly known as Badinter Arbitration

Committee), set up by the Council of Ministers of the EU on August 27, 1991, to provide the Conference on Yugoslavia with legal advice.

When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992, it was generally anticipated that the EU would use its regional influence to act as a broker between Yugoslavia and Bosnia to stop the fighting and get the warring parties to the negotiating table. This was not to be. It quickly became apparent that there was little in the way of a unified European position on Bosnia, and that, as a consequence, greater effort would be required by the international organizations more broadly defined. As a result, various diplomatic missions were established to negotiate with the parties—particularly with Bosnian Serbs and the government of Yugoslavia—in an effort to establish a basis for peace. Owen and Cyrus Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state, were selected to lead a joint United Nations (UN) (Vance) and EU (Owen) negotiating process intended to convince the parties to try to reach a settlement. Yet while Vance and Owen visited all parts of Bosnia and Yugoslavia, talking to leaders, hearing various positions, and taking proposals back and forth, little of real value was achieved.

The goal of the resultant Vance-Owen peace plan, an initiative negotiated in January 1993, was to prepare a map of Bosnia with internal borders that would be acceptable to Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, but since the military fronts fluctuated from day to day, it was initially impossible to arrive at a consensus. Vance and Owen were supposed to draw up lines in which no land had been obtained by military conquest, with the principle that all refugees could return to their homes. It was a hopeless task. In all, they produced over 30 maps, each one a compromise. They all reflected land obtained by conquest, and it was understood that the right of return was merely a theoretical gesture that was politically impossible to enact. The final Vance-Owen map proposed dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous cantons: three for each of the ethnic groups, and a separate one for the capital, Sarajevo. This would, they proposed, preserve Bosnia's unity and distinctive multiethnic character. The plan, supported by the UN, was rejected, first by the Americans, because it rewarded the Bosnian Serbs by allowing them to keep much of the land they had taken by force, and then by the Bosnian Serbs, because it did not give them enough of the land they coveted.

On June 18, 1993, Owen declared the plan dead. The significance of the Vance-Owen peace plan was that it was the last international initiative to favor a united Bosnia based on shared civic consciousness. Henceforth, schemes put

forward to try to bring peace concentrated on separating the warring parties through some form of partition.

Still, the attempts to find peace dragged on, with Vance and Owen struggling to find ways to break the deadlock. After Vance's departure from the scene and his replacement by Norway's Thorvald Stoltenberg, little changed. In late July 1993, representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina's three warring factions entered into a new round of negotiations. On August 20, Owen and Stoltenberg unveiled a new map that would partition Bosnia into three ethnic ministates, in which Bosnian Serbs would be given 52 percent of Bosnian territory, Bosniaks would be allotted 30 percent, and Bosnian Croats would receive 18 percent. On August 29, 1993, the Bosniaks rejected this new plan, and in March 1994, another proposal was put forth; it, too, was defeated.

After this, Owen, who had decreasing support from the European Parliament for his role as a peacemaker, sought a way to remove himself from the Yugoslav quagmire. In 1994 he was awarded the prestigious decoration of Companion of Honour for his services in the former Yugoslavia, and by the end of May 1995 his position had been taken by former Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt.

Since then, Lord Owen has pursued activities outside of politics, in petroleum, pharmaceutical, and steel enterprises, as well as serving as chancellor of the University of Liverpool between 1996 and 2009.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; United Kingdom; Vance-Owen Peace Plan

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P

Panic, Milan

Milan Panic, a U.S. entrepreneur of Serbian descent, returned to his native land in 1992 to serve as prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a position he held until 1993. During that same time he campaigned unsuccessfully for the office of Serbian president, a race he lost to incumbent president Slobodan Milosevic.

Panic was born in the Serbian capital of Belgrade on December 20, 1929. After World War II, he achieved fame as a cyclist and attended the University of Belgrade, earning a bachelor's degree in 1955. He defected later that year and spent a year in West Germany before migrating to the United States. Studying biochemistry and serving as a research assistant at the University of California, Panic supported himself by working for several firms as a chemist before establishing his own company, the International Chemical and Nuclear Corporation, in 1960.

Later changing its name to ICN Pharmaceuticals, the California-based company experienced modest growth during the 1960s and went public in 1969. ICN reached the \$178 million mark in annual sales in 1974, but Panic, who did much of his business overseas, was hurt by the devaluation of the dollar that year and by federal accusations in 1977 that he issued misleading financial projections. He was also charged with misrepresenting the effectiveness of a drug to fight AIDS in 1987, a matter he settled out of court. Yet ICN prospered and purchased Galenika, the country's largest pharmaceuticals company, in 1991.

In July 1992, Milosevic asked Panic to come to Yugoslavia to serve as prime minister. The move was seen as an attempt to install an easily manipulated figure and as a public relations ploy to improve the reputation of Yugoslavia, which had suffered as a result of Serbian atrocities during the war resulting from the secession of the republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia. However, once in office Panic quickly moved to distance himself from Milosevic, who he blamed for the wars, and to bring an end to hostilities.

After just a few months in office, he ran an underdog campaign to unseat Milosevic as president of Serbia, preaching against ethnic hatred, vowing to end

the war, and emphasizing the economic ruin faced by Serbia because of international sanctions imposed in reaction to the Serbian-led ethnic cleansing operations. The official tally showed Milosevic as the winner in the December balloting, though there was evidence of election manipulation. Panic was removed from the prime ministership by a vote in the Federal Assembly several days later, and he resumed his work at ICN in March 1993.

In 2002, Panic stepped down from ICN and purchased the biomedical firm MP Biomedicals.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Milosevic, Slobodan; Serbia; Yugoslavia

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Perisic, Momcilo

Momcilo Perisic is a former Serbian general who was tried and convicted of war crimes in 2011 but was acquitted of all charges on appeal in 2013.



Momcilo Perisic, a former Serbian general who became deputy premier of Yugoslavia. Tried and convicted of war crimes during Yugoslavia's war with Croatia, in 2011 he was found guilty of war crimes and sentenced to 27 years in prison. This was later overturned on appeal, and he was acquitted on all counts. (AP Photo/Darko Vojinovic)

Perisic was born on May 22, 1944, in Kostunici, Yugoslavia, attended the Yugoslav Military Academy, and entered the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in 1966. A general by the time the wars in the disintegrating Yugoslavia began in 1991, he commanded the Artillery School in Zadar, a Croatian town on the Adriatic coast, and participated in the shelling of that location in 1991. A Croatian court sentenced him in absentia to 20 years in prison for his role in the attacks on Zadar, but he was never formally called to account for those events. In 1992, he became commander of 13th Corps (Bileca region), and six months later was named deputy commander and chief of staff for the Third Yugoslav Army headquartered at Nis. In April 1993, he was appointed commander of that same army.

Perisic was a high-ranking military commander during both the Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995) and the Bosnian War (1992–1995). As such, he directly presided over numerous military operations conducted by the JNA (until 1992) and the Yugoslav army (1992–1998).

In February 2006, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) issued indictments against Perisic for various war crimes committed during a vicious rocket attack against Zagreb (May 2–3, 1995), the Srebrenica genocide (July 11–13, 1995), and the April 5, 1992–February 2, 1996 siege of Sarajevo. The indictments claimed that Perisic's forces had aided and abetted war crimes committed by the armies of the Republika Srpska and Serbian Krajina in those places. The next month, Perisic surrendered to ICTY officials and he was formally charged with persecution based on racial, religious, or political grounds; murder; and inhumane acts. Perisic's trial began on October 2, 2008.

The defense rested its case in March 2011, and the judges began their deliberations. On September 6, 2011, the ICTY found Perisic guilty of most, but not all, of the charges against him, and sentenced him to a 27-year prison term, which he began serving immediately. The prosecution had asked for a life sentence.

The former general's lawyers filed an appeal motion, and on February 28, 2013, the Appeal Chamber of the ICTY overturned the earlier decision and acquitted Perisic of all charges. The judges determined that there was not enough proof to demonstrate that Perisic had directly assisted the armed forces responsible for the crimes at Sarajevo, Zagreb, or Srebrenica. Furthermore, the court ruled that while Perisic had supported the overall war efforts during the Croatian and Bosnian wars, he had not personally ordered or directed the commission of war crimes.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian War; Croatian War of Independence; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre

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Plavsic, Biljana

Biljana Plavsic, a Bosnian Serb, served as president of Republika Srpska from 1996 to 1998. Born in Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, on July 7, 1930, she was a professor of biology and acting dean of the Faculty of Natural Science and Mathematics at the University of Sarajevo, with over 100 scientific works and papers published prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.

Plavsic was a member of the Serbian Democratic Party (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, or SDS) during the last days of united Yugoslavia. She was the first female member of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and from February 28, 1992, to May 12, 1992 was one of the two acting presidents of the self-proclaimed Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She then became one of two vice presidents of Republika Srpska, serving under President Radovan Karadzic.

During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, Plavsic became renowned for the intensity of her expressions of Serbian nationalism. She visited the front lines frequently to inspire the troops and reinforce their own sense of patriotic duty. At the very beginning of the war, in April 1992, she appeared in Bijeljina with a notorious and vicious militia leader responsible for much of the ethnic cleansing during the earlier war with Croatia, Zeljko Raznatovic, better known by his nickname of "Arkan."

Plavsic was also instrumental in establishing contact with the then-president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, though publicly she was extremely critical of his willingness to negotiate with the Western powers and his favorable reception of the Vance-Owen peace plan of January 1993. This was a peace initiative negotiated by America's Cyrus Vance and Britain's Lord David Owen to bring the three-way war in Bosnia to a peaceful end. The final Vance-Owen proposal

would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous cantons: three for each of the ethnic groups, and a separate one for the capital, Sarajevo. The plan, supported by the UN, was doubly rejected: by the Americans, because it rewarded the Bosnian Serbs by allowing them to keep much of the land they had taken by force, and by the Bosnian Serbs, because it did not give them enough of the land they coveted. The significance of the Vance-Owen plan was that it was the last international initiative to favor a united Bosnia based on a shared civic consciousness. Henceforth, schemes put forward to try to bring peace concentrated on separating the warring parties through some form of partition. For his willingness to consider the Vance-Owen plan, Plavsic denounced Milosevic as a traitor to the Serb people.

Plavsic was well known for her radical positions on Serb nationalism. When Karadzic was forbidden from attending the Dayton Peace talks in November 1995, he nominated Plavsic—whom he deemed to be more extreme than himself—as president of Republika Srpska in his place. A realization on her part that Republika Srpska was isolated and unloved by the West, however, led to her attempting to reinvent the Bosnian Serb nationalist movement. She quit the SDS, formed a new party, *Srpski Narodni Savez* (Serbian People's Alliance, or SNS), and changed her political orientation completely. This saw the start of an attempt to make the cause of Serb nationalism more respectable to the international community, though for Plavsic it came at a political cost. There was no place in the new arrangements for a reformed extreme nationalist, and her political career declined markedly.

In 2000 she was indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for crimes committed during the war in Bosnia, and she surrendered herself voluntarily to the court's jurisdiction on January 10, 2001. She was charged with two counts of genocide (genocide and/or complicity to commit genocide); five counts of crimes against humanity (extermination; murder; persecutions on political, racial, and religious grounds; deportation; alternatively, inhumane acts); and one count of violations of the laws or customs of war (murder). At Plavsic's initial court appearance on January 11, 2001, she pleaded not guilty to all the charges brought against her but, in the belief that she would not be able to bring forth credible witnesses to testify on her behalf, in 2002 she entered a plea-bargain arrangement with the prosecutors. In exchange for all other charges being dropped, Plavsic pleaded guilty to one count of crimes against humanity on political, racial, and religious grounds for her part in directing the war and targeting civilians. She also expressed "full remorse" for

her actions. In 2003 she was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment for crimes against humanity and forceful expulsions prompted by religious, political, and racial motives, and on June 26, 2003, began serving her sentence at Hinesberg Women's Prison, Frovi, Orebro County, Sweden.

On April 26, 2007, the Swedish government rejected an appeal filed by Plavsic made for a pardon. In June 2008, she again requested a pardon on account of her advanced age and poor health. On December 4, 2008, this request, too, was rejected. Finally, on September 15, 2009, the ICTY declared that Plavsic's good behavior while in prison could lead to her parole, and her release was announced on October 27, 2009. She had by that stage served two-thirds of her original sentence. Plavsic was flown immediately to Belgrade and received a warm reception from Serbian authorities.

The case of Biljana Plavsic is significant in that it is the first occasion on which an international criminal court had brought charges of genocide or crimes against humanity against a female political leader, or on which a woman had been convicted along these lines. Although there were numerous trials after World War II of women guards from Nazi concentration camps, none were political leaders, or arraigned for the types of crimes faced by Plavsic.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Republika Srpska

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Prlic, Jadranko

Jadranko Prlic is a Croatian politician, former official of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and prime minister of the rump wartime political entity known as Herzeg-Bosnia from 1992 until 1996, during the Bosnian War (1992–1995). In 2013, Prlic and several other officials were found guilty of various war crimes and crimes against humanity related to the Bosnian War by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Jadranko Prlic was born at Dakovo, Croatia (then part of Yugoslavia), on June 10, 1959. After joining the League of Communists in the mid-1970s, he received an undergraduate degree and went on to study economics at the graduate level. He received a doctorate in economics in 1987 from the Faculty of Economics-Sarajevo and began a career in academe. He eventually became a full professor on the Faculty of Economics, and in 1988 he was elected mayor of Mostar.

A member of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Prlic became vice president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1989, a post he held until 1991. He also was acting president of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1990. In 1992, he gained membership on the Croatian Defense Council and the same year became prime minister of Herzeg-Bosnia, a self-proclaimed rump regime during the Bosnian War. He retained that position until 1996. At the same time, from 1994 to 1996, he was also defense minister for the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During his tenure as prime minister, he presided over wholesale human rights violations, including ethnic cleansing. These primarily involved Serbs as well as Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) residing in the region over which he governed.

From 1996 until 2001, Prlic served as the foreign minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On March 4, 2004, the ICTY indicted Prlic, along with five other Bosnian Croat leaders (Slobodan Praljak, Bruno Stojic, Milivoj Petkovic,

Berislav Pusic, and Valentin Coric), for numerous war crimes and crimes against humanity stemming from the 1992–1995 Bosnian War and genocide. Prlic was charged with nine counts of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, nine counts of violations of the laws or customs of war, and eight counts of crimes against humanity.

The ICTY trial began on April 26, 2006, and lasted until March 2, 2011, when the last of the closing arguments ended. The prosecution called 145 witnesses, while the defense team called 61 witnesses. All six men were tried simultaneously in the same court. On May 29, 2013, the ICTY finally announced its verdict, finding all of the defendants guilty, to varying degrees, of the charges before them. Prlic was given a 25-year prison sentence.

In subsequent years he appealed both the convictions and the sentence. Hearings relating to these appeals are still ongoing at this writing.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Bosnian War; Croatian War of Independence; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

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R

Racak Massacre

The Racak Massacre refers to the purposeful killing of 45 civilian Kosovar Albanians in the village of Racak, in the southwestern part of Kosovo, on January 15, 1999. The atrocity was perpetrated by Serbian forces under the overall command of Slobodan Milosevic, then president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The massacre served as the most significant immediate catalyst of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) aerial bombing campaign against Serbian forces, known as Operation ALLIED FORCE, which commenced in March 1999.

Serbian forces committed the Racak atrocities in retaliation for the killing of four Serbian police officers by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) on January 8 and January 10, 1999. The Racak killings were unusually brutal and included two women and a number of male youths, one as young as 12. Some of the bodies were mutilated, including decapitation in one case, although it was unclear whether the bodies were mutilated prior to or after death. When news of the atrocity became widespread, Milosevic's government flatly denied that it had engaged in the killing of civilians, alleging instead that the dead were KLA members and insurgents. The Serbs also suggested that the mutilations had occurred after death to make it appear that they were the innocent victims of a massacre.



A Kosovar Albanian man looks at some of the carnage the day after Serbian police forces and army detachments attacked the village of Racak, in southwestern Kosovo, on January 15, 1999. With the advance into Racak, a large number of men and boys (at least 45, but possibly more) were murdered, and some were mutilated. (AP Photo/Visar Kryeziu)

The events at Racak convinced many Western nations, including the United States, that Milosevic could only be dealt with under the threat of force. Within weeks, beginning on February 16, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright and other NATO leaders convened a meeting among the Serbs and Kosovar Albanians at Rambouillet, France, to hammer out an end to the ongoing Kosovo conflict. The understanding was that NATO would bomb Serbian interests if Milosevic did not agree to the terms of a peace agreement. If the Kosovar Albanians refused to abide by the agreement, NATO would withdraw all support from the KLA and leave Kosovo to its own devices.

On March 19, the Rambouillet Conference resulted in a comprehensive peace plan. The KLA reluctantly signed the agreement, but the Serbs refused. This resulted in the commencement of NATO's Operation ALLIED FORCE on March 24, which lasted until June 10. Milosevic ultimately yielded to NATO's attacks and withdrew from Kosovo, which would now be administered by the United Nations. Milosevic brazenly declared the Kosovo War a Yugoslav

victory, but in reality it was a crushing defeat for the Serbian strongman, who would be ousted from office the following year.

The NATO campaign actually emboldened Milosevic's forces to engage in a renewed effort at ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Thousands of innocents died between March and June, and more than 800,000 Kosovar Albanians were forced to flee the province. The lack of NATO ground troops (most NATO members, particularly the United States, were extremely reluctant to get involved in a ground war in Kosovo) meant that Serb forces were able to act with relative impunity on the ground, especially during the early weeks of ALLIED FORCE. Several Yugoslav officials would later be indicted on war crimes relating to the events at Racak, including Milosevic himself. He died, however, in March 2006 while in custody of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). His trial was then ongoing but was never completed.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo, War Crimes in; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Rambouillet Accords; Serbia; Yugoslavia

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Rambouillet Accords

The Rambouillet Accords, or Rambouillet Agreement, was an abortive attempt to end the fighting and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, which was the result of a conflict between Serbian forces under the command of Slobodan Milosevic and Kosovar Albanians (chiefly the Kosovo Liberation Army, or KLA). The immediate catalyst for the Rambouillet Conference (February 6–March 19, 1999), which produced the Accords, was the purposeful killing of 45 civilian Kosovar Albanians in the village of Racak, in the southwestern part of Kosovo Province, on January 15, 1999. The massacre was committed by Serbian forces.

The events at Racak convinced many Western nations, including the United States, that Milosevic could only be dealt with under the threat of force. Within weeks, beginning on February 16, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright, other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) leaders, and Russian diplomats convened a meeting among the Serbs and Kosovar Albanians at the French town of Rambouillet to hammer out an end to the ongoing Kosovo conflict. The understanding was that NATO would bomb Serbian interests if Milosevic did not agree to the terms of a peace agreement. If the Kosovar Albanians refused to abide by the agreement, NATO would withdraw all support from the KLA and leave Kosovo to its own devices.

The talks produced a preliminary agreement on February 23, but areas of disagreement remained, and so the conference was extended to hammer out the final details. On March 19, the Rambouillet Conference resulted in a comprehensive peace plan. The KLA reluctantly signed the agreement, but the Serbs and Russians refused to go along with it.

Specifically, the Rambouillet Accords established an interim, three-year agreement whereby Kosovo would achieve self-government and security from further military moves against it by Serbian forces. The agreement was divided into several chapters, including: Constitution; Security; Conduct of Elections;

Economic Issues; Humanitarian Aid; Implementation (I); Ombudsman; Implementation (II); and Final Clauses. Among other things, the agreement called for free elections and set the stage for the imposition of a constitutional, democratic government in Kosovo. It outlined a government mechanism composed of executive, legislative, and judicial branches and established a blueprint for basic freedoms as well as a plan for economic development. The Accords also encompassed a broad range of security measures, including the withdrawal of all Serbian forces from Kosovo, the insertion of a multilateral peacekeeping force, the establishment of a Kosovar police force, and the imposition of basic security measures to protect the Kosovar government at the federal level.

NATO forces began bombing Serbian assets on March 24. That operation, code-named ALLIED FORCE, lasted until June 10, when Milosevic agreed to withdraw his forces from Kosovo. Although the Rambouillet Accords had stopped short of advocating or embracing independence for Kosovo, Milosevic refused to agree to any plan that gave any level of autonomy to the Kosovar Albanians, just as he refused to abide by outside interference in Yugoslav affairs. Milosevic's refusal to agree to the Accords came at a heavy price. His forces suffered significant losses during Operation ALLIED FORCE, and his defeat ultimately cost him the presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 2000. He was also indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity for events that took place during the Kosovo War.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Albright, Madeleine; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo War; Kosovo, War Crimes in; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation ALLIED FORCE; Racak Massacre; Serbia

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Rape Camps

During the 1992–1995 Bosnian War, Serb forces routinely subjected Croat and Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) women and girls to mass rapes, many of which occurred in dedicated areas, mostly concentration camps, which also became known as rape camps. During the Bosnian War, the estimated number of rapes committed by the Serbs was estimated to be between 20,000 and 50,000. Some victims were as young as 12. The shocking level of sexual violence, which was extensively covered by the international media, prompted numerous human rights groups to classify mass rape as an international war crime. After the war, a number of Serbs charged with sexual violence were convicted; this marked the first time in history such a crime was recognized and prosecuted by an international tribunal.

The Serbs promptly systematized their program of mass rape, which took two principal forms. First, when Serb forces moved into a given area that was to be ethnically cleansed, they quickly separated the men and boys from women and girls. Most of the males were either deported to prisons or murdered, leaving the women and girls entirely defenseless. Sometimes, the mass rapes occurred within the villages or towns that were being liquidated. More often, however, the Bosniak women and girls were sent to concentration camps, which functioned as de facto rape camps. There Serbian troops subjected them to sexual enslavement and mass rapes. Sometimes these rape centers were located in private homes, schools, or other public buildings, which often served as brothels for Serbian forces.

The Serbs employed mass rape as a weapon to humiliate Bosnian Muslims, whose cultural conditioning made such crimes particularly degrading, even sacrilegious. Rape was frequently used as part of a larger plan to punish and torture Bosniak women. It was also employed to diminish the Muslim bloodline by forcing Muslims to give birth to children of mixed parentage.

There were a number of rape camps throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most infamous of these were the Keraterm Camp (near Prijedor), Omarska (also near Prijedor), Vilina Vlast (near Visegrad), and the Foca rape camp, which was perhaps the most notorious of all. In the summer of 1992, Roy Gutman, an American journalist, and British journalist Ed Vulliamy first reported on the existence of the Serbian rape camps. Gutman and Vulliamy's reporting on the sexual atrocities in eastern Bosnia quickly garnered international attention. The Serbians and Montenegrins in turn worked feverishly to cover up or destroy all evidence of the camps, fearing that they could be accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Eventually, some 14 Serbian leaders were tried and convicted for their participation in the Foca atrocities, including Dragan Gagovic, Gojko Jankovic, Janko Janjic, Radomir Kovac, Zoran Vukovic, Dragan Zelenovic, Dragoljub Kunarac, Radovan Stankovic, Savo Todovic, Milorad Krnojelac, and Mitar Rasevic. Some of the defendants were tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and others by the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Radovan Karadzic, former president of the Republika Srpska, was also arrested and tried for his part in the Foca calamity, but his trial is ongoing as of this writing, and other charges are also pending.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bosnian War; Concentration Camps; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Foca; Gagovic, Dragan; Gutman, Roy; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Jankovic, Gojko; Karadzic, Radovan; Rape Warfare; Sexual Violence against Women; Vulliamy, Ed; Women in Black

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Rape Warfare

In the context of the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, a succession of Serb-run “rape camps” appeared, particularly in 1992 and 1993. Their purposes were numerous, and they were an innovation of sorts, but with deep roots. Mass rape has long been associated with war, explained away as “collateral damage” or “spoils of war.” But that was not the case in the former Yugoslavia: mass rape in Bosnia was institutionalized, for two essential reasons.

The first was to add to the climate of fear to encourage the process of forced mass departure of Bosniaks from towns and villages throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. As part of the campaign of ethnic cleansing, its intention was to instill sufficient fear that people would leave, coerced by the prevailing climate of terror. It put all women on notice that if they did not leave they could be subject to rape.

The second reason for the institutionalization of rape was to introduce it as an instrument of genocide. Bosniak women of child-bearing age were systematically gang-raped in order to destroy their ethnic identity; by virtue of their rape, upon returning to their ethnic communities they would be socially ostracized. The young women could never be married, and those already married would be divorced. They thus became permanently stigmatized, pushing them to the fringes of society and transforming them into pariahs. Were they to become pregnant—an objective of the rapes, in many cases—they would be considered doubly tainted upon returning home. Children born of the rape would be of mixed ethnicity, and therefore would not be considered members of the community into which they were born.

Thus, the central idea behind the mass rapes was to weaken the fabric of the Muslim ethnic group. In that sense, mass rape as practiced in the camps was part of a genocidal campaign. And not only this; by thereby rendering raped Muslim women as “untouchable” and unfit for marriage within Bosnian society, the Serbs were also reducing the available pool of women from whom the next generation would be born. While increasing the number of Serb children, the rapes were actually reducing the number of Muslim children in the future. In many cases, the victims and their rapists were known to each other before the war, and stimulants were often ordered by officers of the men in their military units. Rape warfare practiced with such attention to rationale and execution could, under no circumstances, be classified as an addendum to war. It was a calculated policy.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bosnian War; Concentration Camps; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Foca; Gutman, Roy; Rape Camps; Sexual Violence against Women; Vulliamy, Ed; Women in Black

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Raznatovic, Zeljko

Zeljko Raznatovic, also known as “Arkan,” was a former criminal who became arguably the most infamous and violent of paramilitary Serbian warlords in the 1990s. He was born on April 17, 1952, in Brezice, southern Slovenia, and grew up in Zagreb (Croatia), Pancevo (Vojvodina, Serbia), and Belgrade. In his early teens he became a juvenile delinquent, turning to petty crime by snatching purses in Belgrade’s Kalemegdan Park. As he grew older he graduated to other forms of criminal activity, eventually turning his hand to robbing banks in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and Italy.

Raznatovic seemed to consider the risks associated with criminality to be simply part of his profession. Injured several times in clashes with police, he was captured and convicted on a number of occasions—but he also escaped from jails in Belgium (1977) and Holland (1981). Some argued that he was able to do this owing to his also being engaged as an agent of the Yugoslav state security police as a government hit man, targeting troublesome Yugoslav émigrés abroad. He took his nickname, “Arkan,” from a false name on one of his multiple forged passports. Far from being a petty criminal, Raznatovic’s many activities landed him as one of Interpol’s ten most wanted criminals.

Arkan returned to Serbia in 1981, continuing his criminal career by opening a number of illegal businesses. He managed to take over the supporters’ club of the Red Star Belgrade soccer club, from which, on October 11, 1990, he would later recruit some of the most violent hooligans into a paramilitary group known as the Serb Volunteer Guard. Nicknamed “Arkan’s Tigers,” the unit was to see its first action in eastern Slavonia in 1991.

The Tigers set up their headquarters and training camp in Erdut, Croatia. With the onset of the Balkan wars from 1991 onward, Arkan began a campaign of assaulting targets in Croatia and Bosnia. For Arkan, killing became a patriotic duty, and the ensuing years saw the volunteer Tigers grow in size and ferocity. It

is reported that his irregular army consisted of 10,000 well-trained fighters equipped with modern weapons, including tanks and helicopters—though this might be an exaggeration; elsewhere, other reports state that his force consisted of a core of just 200 men, and perhaps totaled no more than 1,000 troops. Certainly, however, it is known that his units were supplied by the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, though the extent of such connection has been hotly disputed by authorities in Belgrade.

Arkan's forces were linked with a number of major actions during the Balkan wars, from the Vukovar hospital massacre of November 19, 1991, to the Srebrenica genocide of July 1995. The Tigers were accused of carrying out some of the most brutal ethnic cleansing actions in Bosnia, and Raznatovic was feared and hated throughout the region as a butcher.

The Tigers were notorious for their atrocities. It is clear that Raznatovic worked under the supervision of Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Biljana Plavsic. Whether or not he was acting under instructions from Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, however, is a matter of dispute, though it is suspected that many members of the Tigers had been seconded from Yugoslav police and army units. Despite claims by Milosevic that Arkan ran an independent operation, there were signs everywhere that the Tigers did in fact operate with Milosevic's assistance. For example, during a massacre at Prijedor in May 1992, the Tigers, along with other Serb paramilitary groups, perpetrated their atrocities not only with the full knowledge of the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA), but with its support. Also, when Arkan's men committed atrocities in Zvornik, they were allowed to do as they wished in the center of the city while Yugoslav army units held down the perimeter areas.

Arkan became a folk hero for many Serbs and could muster substantial influence over public opinion within Serbia itself as well as among the Bosnian Serbs. He was a powerful man with high-level connections in the state apparatus and projected himself as a defender of Serbs everywhere. To capitalize on his popularity he and others of like mind founded a political party, the Party of Serbian Unity (*Stranka Srpskog Jedinstva*, or SSJ), on November 3, 1993, with Arkan as president. In this endeavor his vision exceeded his grasp, however, as the party failed to win any seats in a Serbian parliamentary election on December 19 that year. (In the 2000 election, however—after his death—the party would receive 200,000 votes and win 14 seats in the Serbian parliament.)

With the end of the Bosnian War in late 1995, Arkan disbanded the Serb Volunteer Guard in April 1996, but kept open the prospect that the Tigers could return should there be sufficient cause to do so in the future.

On September 30, 1997, the prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Louise Arbour, indicted Zeljko Raznatovic on 24 charges for the crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the laws and customs of war. It was a secret indictment, not made public until March 31, 1999, during the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's war with Serbia over its policy of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The charges in the indictment were at that time not revealed, only that the indictment against Raznatovic existed. He vehemently denied all war crimes charges against him in interviews he gave to Western news sources.

He would not, however, stand trial, for on January 15, 2000, in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel, Belgrade, he was gunned down by Dobrosav Gavric, a former member of the Tigers. Theories abound about who organized the assassination; while Raznatovic led a violent life and died a gangster's death, there were those who also argued that he possessed a great deal of intelligence on the workings of the Yugoslav state and of key individuals within the state hierarchy who would have preferred to see him out of the way before he testified before the ICTY in The Hague. Certainly, in the aftermath of the ICTY's publication of its indictment against Slobodan Milosevic in May 1999, Arkan would have been an embarrassment to the regime.

Zeljko Raznatovic was buried with full military honors and Orthodox rites in Belgrade on January 20, 2000, before his wife, the much younger Svetlana "Ceca" Velickovic, a popular folk singer, and some 20,000 public mourners.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Arbour, Louise; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Plavsic, Biljana; Srebrenica Massacre

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Republika Srpska

The Republika Srpska (Serb Republic) is one of the two governing entities within the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It proclaimed itself an autonomous region in January 1992. The other governing entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina is the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Republika Srpska played a major role in the bloody 1992–1995 Bosnian War and engaged in ethnic cleansing during that conflict. The republic covers 9,597 square miles and controls two noncontiguous areas—the northern third and southern third—of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Between the two areas lies the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The republic has an essentially static population; in 1996, it was estimated to be 1.4 million, and in 2010 it remained virtually unchanged.

Although it did not declare its independence until 1992, the Republika Srpska began, unofficially, amid the tumultuous disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991. On October 24, a group of Serbs within Bosnia and Herzegovina formed their own legislature and the next month held a plebiscite among Bosnian Serbs. The vote was to determine if they were to continue to live under the government of the Republic of Yugoslavia or join with the Croats and Bosnian Muslims in a greater Bosnian state. Voters chose to remain within Yugoslavia, and on January 9, 1992, the assembly declared itself the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On April 6, 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence, which compelled the Bosnian Serbs to secede from that union on April 7. From that point on, the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina became known simply as the Republika Srpska.

Beginning in 1992, the republic, under President Radovan Karadzic, became embroiled in the 1992–1995 Bosnian War, annexing new territory in joint operations with the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and engaging in a vicious campaign of ethnic cleansing against Croats and Bosnian Muslims in order to force them out of areas it then controlled. Complicit in this de facto genocide was General Ratko Mladic, who commanded the armed forces of the Republika

Srpska. This genocidal killing continued virtually unabated until the November 1995 Dayton Peace Accords ended the Bosnian War.

During the talks held at Dayton, Ohio, Karadzic's negotiators pushed hard to retain most of the territorial gains made during the conflict, and they were largely successful in that effort. The Republika Srpska continues as an entity today, although both Karadzic and Ratko Mladic have been indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity in connection with the Bosnian War. They are still currently on trial as of this writing. The republic is not recognized by the international community, however, and it enjoys no representation in the United Nations. Nevertheless, it remains an autonomous political entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina, with its capital at Banja Luka.

The Bosnian War wrought much destruction on the republic, with as much as 50 percent of all the homes in non-Serbian areas destroyed. More recently, there has been an uptick in discrimination against non-Serbs within the Republika Srpska, which is being monitored by several international organizations. Beginning in 2005, the republic agreed to become more integrated with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as a condition for this it substantially reduced the size and power of its armed forces. Today, the republic's economy struggles with slow growth, especially in the non-Serb areas.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosnian War; Karadzic, Radovan; Mladic, Ratko; Montenegro; Serbia; United Nations; Yugoslavia

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Rose, Michael

General Sir Michael Rose is a former British Army officer who served as the force commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina between January 17, 1994, and February 25, 1995. The son of a British officer, he was born in Quetta, in what was then British India, in 1940. He was educated at Cheltenham College, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford (where he read philosophy, politics, and economics, and of which he is now an honorary fellow), and the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1959 he received a commission in the Gloucestershire Regiment Territorial and Army Volunteer Reserve (TAVR), and transferred to the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve (RAFVR) in 1962. He became an officer in the Coldstream Guards in 1964.

Subsequent to this he joined the Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment, and served in Malaya and Oman. From then on, Rose's career path was steady. He was brigade major, 16th Parachute Brigade between 1973 and 1975; commanding officer of the 22 SAS Regiment, 1979–1982; Special Service operations commander during the Falklands War in 1982; and commander of the 39th Infantry Brigade from 1983 to 1985. In 1987, Rose was the commandant of the School of Infantry and in 1988 became the first director of Special Forces. Between September 1991 and April 1993, he was commandant of the Staff College, Camberley.

In 1993 he was appointed as deputy joint force commander overseeing the United Kingdom contribution to the United Nations (UN) mission in the former Yugoslavia, and in January 1994 was given command of UNPROFOR. Prior to taking command, he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II. As UNPROFOR commander, his roles included the maintenance of peace among the warring Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims; working to establish a political settlement of the conflict; preventing the conflict from spreading beyond Bosnia; and

ensuring the uninterrupted flow and delivery of humanitarian aid to stricken communities in war-ravaged Bosnia.

He was authorized to invoke North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assistance to enforce his mandate when required, should there be violations of UN-brokered ceasefires. He was, however, reluctant to do this, preferring not to escalate the conflict and instead uphold the traditional peacekeeping principles of maintaining impartiality, exercising restraint, displaying tact and diplomacy, and eschewing the use of force except for self-defense. This was the best way, in his view, that peace could be achieved, a peace that would be respected by all the warring parties. Many critics did not see value in this approach, principally on account of the fact that Rose's reluctance to request NATO air strikes to punish Bosnian Serb aggression, and interference with UN humanitarian aid convoys, appeared to reward the aggressors and encourage further violence. In the eyes of many of Rose's detractors, his tactics were deemed ill-suited to the situation prevailing in Bosnia.

As force commander, Rose was in charge of nearly 40,000 military personnel, nearly 1,000 civilian police, and over 400 other civilian and locally recruited staff. Altogether, UNPROFOR was drawn from 37 different countries. He had a reputation for being a tough commander who was prepared to execute UNPROFOR's brief robustly in face of the difficulties posed by a situation where three separate armies and a large number of uncontrollable paramilitary groups waged war against each other, and in which civilian populations were frequently attacked, forcibly evacuated, and regularly murdered en masse. He attracted further criticism, however, for what his detractors considered to be simultaneously an appeasement of the Serbs and bullying toward the Bosnian Muslims. Under Rose's command, UNPROFOR was frequently disparaged for its inability (taken by many as unwillingness) to do more to protect lives. (The oft-quoted joke that the United Nations Protection Force's mandate was to "protect ourselves and nobody else" was, for many, an accurate statement of the force's inadequacy.)

Rose resented such accusations, arguing rather of the need for impartiality and even-handedness within the framework of a stout resistance to any diminution of UNPROFOR's authority from any side. The critical counterargument was that Rose was little more than an agent of the great powers whose preference was not to take sides, a stance which in reality gave succor and advantage to the Serbs over the legitimate interests of the Bosniaks. Debates continue to this day. What can be determined is that it was only with his

departure in January 1995 and his replacement by another British officer, General Sir Rupert Smith, that Western governments were forced finally to impose a solution on the Bosnian Serbs and bring peace to the region.

General Rose's mission was difficult, but not impossible. Certainly, he was obliged to meander through a confusing environment of conflicting interests both within and outside of Bosnia, of shifting policy directions from European capitals, of so-called mission creep (whereby the objectives of the UNPROFOR mandate moved according to the changing fortunes of the war), and always insufficient resources to make the best out of a complicated situation. It did not help Rose that the Western media was for the most part sympathetic to the Bosniaks in their attempt to escape the ethnic cleansing (and, sometimes, genocide) intended at the hands of the Bosnian Serbs. At the opposite end of the scale, Rose often made allowances for the Serbs that the Western press saw as thoroughly unacceptable. He argued that the Bosniak government exaggerated the number of civilians killed at Serb hands, or that it had deliberately caused death and destruction against its own citizens and cities to stir up national sympathy.

Following his yearlong period of service in Bosnia, General Sir Michael Rose returned to Britain. He was appointed deputy commander in chief of Land Command for part of 1995, then served as adjutant general (with responsibility for personnel and administrative matters in the British Army) and aide-de-camp general to the Queen until he retired from the army in September 1997. He then settled down to put his case in a memoir, *Fighting for Peace: Bosnia 1994*, a largely self-exculpatory piece that some critics and historians have since viewed as a statement-in-reverse of what could have been achieved in Bosnia had Rose been less committed to the ideals and ethos of the Bosnian Serbs or universally opposed to Bosniak national aspirations.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Smith, Rupert; United Kingdom; United Nations Protection Force

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Rugova, Ibrahim

Ibrahim Rugova was the first president of Kosovo, appointed by the Kosovo Assembly on March 4, 2002. He was born on December 2, 1944, in Cerrce, western Kosovo, during the Italian fascist occupation of the region during World War II. On January 10, 1945, Yugoslav Communists summarily executed his father, Uke Rugova, and his grandfather, Rruste Rugova. An outstanding student, Ibrahim Rugova graduated from the University of Pristina in 1971 and then undertook a doctoral degree. Part of this included a two-year period studying at the École Pratique des Hautes Études at the University of Paris. He received his PhD in 1984.

Rugova was initially an editor with the Pristina student newspaper *Bota e Re* (*New World*) and the magazine *Dituria* (*Knowledge*), before becoming a professor at the Institute for Albanian Studies in Pristina, where he became editor in chief of its periodical, *Gjurmime albanologjike* (*Albanian Research*). In 1988 Rugova was elected president of the Kosovo Writers Union, having earlier joined the Yugoslav Communist Party. He also published poetry and several studies of literary theory, criticism, and history, stamping him as a leading Kosovar intellectual.

Throughout the late 1980s Rugova was one of a number of opponents to the harsh rule of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic; together, they established a dissident organization called the Democratic League of Kosovo, or *Lidhja Demokratike e Kosoves* (LDK). This organization attracted hundreds of thousands of followers, and Rugova became the movement's acknowledged leader on December 23, 1989, when he was elected LDK president. It was the first political party in Kosovo to directly challenge the ruling communist regime, and soon became the leading political force in Kosovo. Within months, 700,000 people—virtually the entire adult Kosovar Albanian population—had joined, and the LDK established a de facto alternative government running parallel to the Serbian government.

Rugova's government was not recognized beyond the borders of nearby Albania, but the incident was one that galvanized Milosevic. In 1989 he changed the status of Kosovo within Yugoslavia, abolishing its autonomy and launching a crackdown against all expressions of Kosovar equality. Widespread violations of human rights—unwarranted dismissals, extrajudicial beatings, torture, and killings—became the norm.

Under Rugova's leadership, the LDK completed the legal framework for the institutionalization of the independence of Kosovo. Among the steps that followed were a declaration of independence (July 2, 1990), a proclamation of Kosovo as a republic and the adoption of a constitution (September 7, 1990), and a national referendum on independence and sovereignty conducted in late September 1991. In addition, Kosovo's Albanian population boycotted Yugoslav and Serbian elections. On May 24, 1992, separate multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections were held in Kosovo, in which Rugova won an overwhelming majority and was elected president.

At a time when Milosevic was engaging in ruthless military tactics against secessionists in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 and Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, Rugova distinguished himself through the advocacy of passive resistance strategies, and an unrelenting call for the independence of Kosovo from Serbia. Fearing a Bosnia-style bloodbath, his policy of passive resistance earned him the title of "the Gandhi of the Balkans" in some quarters. His strategy was supported by many Kosovars, preferring, like Rugova himself, not to see a repeat of what was then happening in Bosnia.

While Milosevic met the challenge of Rugova's passive resistance campaign with increasingly repressive measures, he did not ban the LDK, preferring not to drive it underground. This enabled Rugova to act more and more as the head of a legitimate government in Kosovo and even allowed him to travel abroad, notwithstanding that the LDK did not possess any official standing within or outside of Yugoslavia. It is also possible that Milosevic saw Rugova as a useful pawn who could keep Kosovo quiet while the war with Bosnia was taking place, thereby averting the possibility of a wholesale uprising in the province.

Throughout the 1990s, Rugova was thus viewed as the moderate, intellectual face of Albanian opposition to Milosevic, though he rejected any form of negotiation on future independence for Kosovo. This upset many radical Kosovars, who considered the current state of turmoil in Serbia to be the best chance for Kosovo to break away from Yugoslavia. In this context, an armed military resistance force, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was formed in

1997 and began targeting Serbian police and military installations and Serbian officials. These radicals blamed Rugova's policy of nonviolence for Kosovo's failure to achieve independence. In an ever-escalating military and police state environment, the Serbs clamped down brutally on all forms of Kosovar life and expression.

Rugova's attitude toward the KLA was at first somewhat ambivalent, but eventually he lent the movement his support, as outrage grew in the West for military action against Serbia's brutal rule. Ultimately, at the end of March 1999, the position of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) powers toward the possibility of another Bosnian-style situation led to a full-scale military intervention—Operation ALLIED FORCE—for the purpose of stopping what had in a short time descended into a Serb-driven policy of ethnic cleansing against the Kosovar Albanians.

At the beginning of this new conflict, Rugova was effectively kept under house arrest in Pristina, but in early April 1999 he was taken to Belgrade, where he was shown on Serbian state television meeting Milosevic and calling for an end to the war. This involuntary appearance, at the height of the conflict, undermined his reputation within the province, especially among the KLA rebels. Many felt the hero of Kosovo was now urging NATO to stop the bombing, allowing Milosevic to get his way. Some Kosovars even accused Rugova of treason.

In early May 1999 Rugova was allowed to leave Kosovo for temporary exile in Italy, his political career apparently over. However, he received a hero's welcome upon his return, and despite the political damage he had suffered during the war he soon regained public esteem and won a decisive victory against his political rivals in the KLA. In 2001 the LDK won provincial elections and on March 4, 2002, Rugova was appointed as president by the Kosovo Assembly, under the supervision of the United Nations. He was reelected president by the Kosovo Assembly in December 2004 and survived an assassination attempt in 2005 before he died in office.

A chain-smoker, he lost a battle with lung cancer on January 21, 2006. He was buried without religious rites on January 26, at a funeral attended by regional leaders and a crowd estimated to number 1.5 million people. He had spent more than 16 years at the center of Kosovar Albanian politics, striving to establish Kosovo as a democratic sovereign state. The man considered by many as the Father of the Nation did not live to see where his campaign might end, but on February 17, 2008, Kosovo prime minister Hashim Thaci declared a

unilateral declaration of independence for the province. By May 2015 that status had been recognized by 110 states.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Albania; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Kosovo; Kosovo Liberation Army; Milosevic, Slobodan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation ALLIED FORCE

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Sarajevo, Siege of

The siege of Sarajevo began in April 1992, as the Yugoslav army sought to prevent the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Though Sarajevo was only one of many Yugoslavian cities to be destroyed during that country's dismemberment, the siege was tragic because of the dedication its population had once shown to peaceful coexistence and because of the heroic defense that its citizens maintained.

The breakup of Yugoslavia began with declarations of independence by Slovenia and Croatia in 1991. Elections held in Bosnia in December 1990 had resulted in the three national communities (Serb, Croat, and Bosniak) gaining seats in rough proportion to their populations. In a referendum on independence held in early 1992, nearly two-thirds of the Bosnian electorate cast a vote; almost all voted for independence.

After Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence in March 1992, a new, smaller Yugoslavia was formed consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. The Yugoslav army, supported by militias of Bosnia Serbs, began to move into position around the city of Sarajevo. When Bosnia's independence was recognized by the United States and the European Community on April 6, Serb paramilitary forces immediately began firing on Sarajevo, and the bombardment of the city by heavy artillery began soon thereafter.



A Bosnian soldier defends the city by returning fire on the opening day of the siege in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, as he and civilians come under fire from Serb snipers. The city came under siege almost immediately after the country's declaration of independence on April 6, 1992. It became the longest military siege in the history of modern warfare. (AFP/Getty Images)

It is estimated that nearly 12,000 people were killed or went missing in the city, including over 1,500 children. An additional 56,000 people were wounded, including nearly 15,000 children. The city also suffered major structural and property damage as the Serbs deliberately attacked civilian installations, houses, monuments, and institutions associated with Muslim culture. Thus they shelled and burned to the ground the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, containing thousands of irreplaceable manuscripts, and gutted mosques and other cultural centers. Two-thirds of the buildings in the city were reported as either seriously or partially damaged. The Bosnian government estimated that some 10,000 apartments had been destroyed during the siege, which also damaged an additional 100,000 residences.

In June 1992, United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but their presence did not halt the fighting. The people of Sarajevo showed amazing courage during the siege, which continued for nearly two more years until it was formally ended by the Serbs in February 1994. In spite of the Serbs' public announcement that the siege was over, attacks on Sarajevo continued through 1995. In August 1995, the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) declared that if the Serbs did not halt their attacks on Sarajevo and other UN-protected areas, Bosnian Serb positions would be attacked by NATO. When Serb forces kept up their shelling of the city, NATO planes bombed the Serbians. The NATO bombing halted in September, when Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina agreed to a peace plan, the Dayton Agreement (1995), which was signed on November 21, 1995, in Dayton, Ohio.

Alexander Mikaberidze

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Krstic, Radislav; Mladic, Ratko; Nagic, Inela; Smailovic, Vedran; Sniper Alley; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations Protection Force

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Scorpions

The Scorpions were a Bosnian Serb paramilitary force formed in 1991 by Slobodan Medic in the now-defunct breakaway Republic of Serbia Krajina. The Scorpions (named after the Czech-manufactured handguns they employed to execute people) were extensively involved in the 1992–1995 Bosnian War and were also active in the 1998–1999 Kosovo War. Many of the militia's members were involved in war crimes committed against civilian populations.

The Scorpions' first major operation occurred during the siege of the Croatian city of Vukovar during September–November 1991; that city was virtually leveled. Serbian military leaders routinely employed the Scorpions and other similar paramilitary forces to augment their strength and terrorize civilians so that ethnic cleansing could be implemented.

The Scorpions were widely involved in operations during the Bosnian War, first in Croatia, then in eastern and western Bosnia. The group participated in the horrific Srebrenica genocide of July 11–13, 1995, working closely with Bosnian Serb forces as they murdered at least 8,000 unarmed civilian Muslims, chiefly men and young boys. Many of the Scorpions used their handguns to shoot victims execution-style, in the backs of their heads.

The Scorpions kept a relatively low profile after the December 1995 Dayton Agreement brought an end to the Bosnian War. The group did not entirely disband, however, and it became active again in 1999, during the Kosovo War. Indeed, it has been accused of various war crimes and atrocities in Kosovo, particularly the March 28, 1999, Podujevo Massacre, in which 19 unarmed Albanian Kosovars, including women, children, and the elderly were systematically murdered.

In May 2005, Belgrade's Humanitarian Law Centre, headed by human rights activist Natasa Kandic, released a previously undiscovered video taken during the Srebrenica genocide, showing several Scorpion fighters shooting at point-blank range six Muslim men, all of whom died. The next month, the video was handed over to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague, where it was shown during Serbia leader Slobodan Milosevic's war crimes trial. The video was soon broadcast over Serbia's television stations, and within weeks several Scorpions shown in the video were arrested in Serbia. Meanwhile, Serbian political leaders roundly denounced the violence depicted in the video.

Numerous leaders in Republika Srpska and Serbia-Montenegro, however, declared the video to be a Bosnian Muslim forgery designed to indict others allegedly involved in the massacre at Srebrenica. In 2007, a Serbian court found Slobodan Medic, along with three other Scorpions, guilty of war crimes in connection with Srebrenica. Two years later, a Serbian court found Scorpions commander Sasa Cvjetan guilty for his involvement in the 1999 Podujevo tragedy and sentenced him to a 20-year prison term. Shortly thereafter, Zeljko Djukic, Dragan Medic, Dragan Borojevic, and Midrag Solaja, all members of the Scorpions, were arrested and tried for their role in the Podujevo Massacre. The first three were found guilty and received 20-year prison sentences, while Solaja was given a 15-year sentence. By 2000, the Scorpions had been dissolved.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian War; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Kandic, Natasa; Kosovo War; Montenegro; Republika Srpska; Serbia; Srebrenica Massacre; Vukovar

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Serbia

The country today known as Serbia was known as Yugoslavia until February 2003 and as Serbia and Montenegro from 2003 to 2006. Yugoslavia itself did not exist until after World War I, and the region, which makes up part of the Balkan Peninsula, was long dominated by foreign empires.

The rise of the Ottoman Empire—which superseded the crumbling Byzantine Empire in the east and aggressively expanded westward into the European continent—dramatically altered the social and political landscape of the Balkan Peninsula. In 1389, at the Battle of Kosovo Polje, Ottoman forces defeated the Serbs, and for the next three centuries Serbia was part of the Ottoman Empire. Though a military defeat, the Battle of Kosovo Polje became a fundamental event in the formation of a Serbian national identity. After their victory in Kosovo, the Ottomans continued their military campaign in the Balkans, annexing Bosnia, Herzegovina, and parts of Montenegro by 1499. The Turkish conquest dramatically altered the Slavs' established social systems, destroying the power of the local nobility. In the regions where inhabitants converted to Islam, particularly in parts of Bosnia and modern-day Albania, the social structure was not as drastically affected. Montenegro, whose mountainous terrain made it too difficult for Ottoman forces to fully control, also remained somewhat insulated and retained an independent government.

In the 17th century, as the Ottoman Empire fell into decline, the Habsburg Austro-Hungarian Empire expanded its influence in the Balkans. By the early 19th century, Ottoman control of the Balkans was tenuous, and the vacuum created by the ebb of Turkish power opened the door for the growth of nationalism among the peninsula's ethnic groups. To create a sense of national identity, the Balkan Slavs drew on their history and ancient folklore as well as their religious heritage. However, realization of nationalist ambitions required the aid of foreign powers, since none of the Balkan groups were powerful

enough to establish an independent nation alone. A nominal Croatian state was created with permission of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1868, and Serbia and Montenegro were granted independence in 1878 by the Treaty of San Stefano, concluded at the end of the Russo-Turkish War.

Nationalism had the negative effect of stirring up ethnic rivalries, often in the form of territorial disputes, between the various Balkan groups. Particularly at a loss were the region's Muslims, who had long depended on the Ottoman social and economic infrastructure to protect their religion and way of life. The emerging Balkan states cooperated long enough to drive out what little remained of the Ottoman presence in Europe during the first Balkan War of 1912. By 1913, unity had collapsed and the second of the Balkan Wars broke out as Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece fought over the spoils of their victory against the Turks. The contentious nationalism of the Balkans soon became the tinderbox that lit the fuse of World War I, with the assassination in June 1914 of Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Bosnian Serb nationalist.

The downfall of both the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires at the end of World War I opened the door for the realization of Balkan nationalistic desires. On December 1, 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was officially established under the leadership of Serbian king Peter Karageorgevic. Though a unified Slavic state was never the initial goal of the various Balkan ethnic groups, most political leaders realized that unification was their best option, at least for the moment. These hopes proved overly optimistic, however. Over the protests of both Croats and Slovenes, a constitution adopted in 1921 created a centralized government predominantly under Serbian control. Over the next several years, non-Serbian groups grew increasingly bitter and disenchanted with the kingdom's government. In 1929, King Alexander, Peter's successor, responded to the growing discontent by abrogating the constitution, forming a dictatorship, and renaming the country the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (the Kingdom of Southern Slavs). His actions did little to allay non-Serb fears, and between 1929 and 1939 tensions continued to grow among the nation's ethnic groups, leading to the 1934 assassination of Alexander by the Ustashe, a Croatian fascist organization.

When World War II broke out, Yugoslavia tried to remain neutral, but the regents ruling in the name of Prince Paul gave in to German pressure in 1941 and formed an alliance with Adolf Hitler. The alliance prompted widespread popular discontent and public protest, and a contingent of military officers moved quickly to overthrow the regency. They then placed Prince Paul on the

throne and repudiated the German alliance in his name. In April 1941, Germany responded by invading Yugoslavia. The country was occupied by German, Italian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian forces, along with the Ustashe.

Two rival resistance groups rose up to oppose the Nazi occupation: the Chetniks—Serbian nationalists—and the Partisans, a communist group led by a Croatian-Slovene named Josip Broz Tito. While both groups fought the Nazis, they ultimately had different ideas for the reconstitution of the Yugoslav state. The Chetniks sought a resumption of Serbian dominance, while the Partisans wanted to establish a communist federation divided along ethnic lines. Although both sides committed atrocities during the war, the Partisans were able to secure the support of the Allies and gain control of the country when the war ended.

Tito organized the country as a federation with six republics loosely divided along ethnic lines: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. Tito's Yugoslavia was a communist state, and more liberal political organizations were suppressed. The government moved rapidly to introduce nationalization of other instruments of communist control, but over time, a less-centralized model, including workers' councils that managed individual enterprises, developed. Yugoslavia adopted an independent line that initially alienated Tito from the rest of the Soviet Union-led communist bloc, but he eventually forged a middle way, often characterized by strained relations with both the East and the West. Not surprisingly, Tito was a key player in the formation of the nonaligned movement.

Tito's death in 1980 revealed the cracks in the Yugoslavian political system. He was replaced by a collective presidency made up of representatives from each of the republics. However, the nation's economic problems, including a huge foreign debt, began to cause difficulties and the new government proved too weak. Both problems facilitated a revival of the ethnic and religious rivalries that were suppressed under Tito. A nationalist movement in Serbia gained control of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and Slobodan Milosevic, an extreme nationalist, gained power. Milosevic instituted severe measures to support his nationalist cause, including press censorship and the reversal of autonomy for the Kosovo and Vojvodina regions, whose populations were predominantly Albanian and Hungarian, respectively.

Milosevic tried to increase the centralization of power and to revive the concept of a Greater Serbia at the same time that Croatian and Slovenian leaders were seeking increased decentralization. As it became clear that Milosevic was intent on increasing Serbian authority, Croatia and Slovenia declared their

independence from Yugoslavia in June 1991, leading to the outbreak of the Yugoslavian civil war. Despite a constitutional provision allowing for the secession of republics, the Serbian-dominated Yugoslavian Army actively opposed Croatia's and Slovenia's withdrawal. The independence of Slovenia was conceded after a 10-day war that the Yugoslavian forces lost. However, the large Serb minority in Croatia joined forces with the Yugoslavian Army to gain control of vast territory there.

Milosevic had a similar response to the secession of Bosnia and Herzegovina the following year. With their campaign of ethnic cleansing, the Serbs succeeded in killing or forcing out much of the Muslim Bosniak and Croatian populations from large parts of Bosnia. The United Nations (UN) imposed international sanctions against Yugoslavia for its actions. Around the same time, Macedonia also seceded, without much of a struggle, due to its relatively small Serbian population.

After losing three wars, Milosevic reconstituted the Yugoslavian government as a two-republic federation including only Serbia and Montenegro. International sanctions against Yugoslavia were eased in 1995 after Milosevic blockaded the Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia and signed the Dayton Agreement, which returned territories to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, although there was continued Serbian resistance to the peace plan from within those two countries. Milosevic had been forced to act in part because of the devastation the sanctions had brought to Yugoslavia, with inflation running at unheard-of rates and the state under the threat of disintegration.

By early 1998, however, Milosevic had renewed his campaign for a Greater Serbia, this time turning his attention to the predominantly ethnic Albanian region of Kosovo. Though the Serb-controlled Yugoslavian Army was sent into the province ostensibly to root out members of the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army, the military's ethnic cleansing campaign led to numerous civilian deaths, as hundreds of thousands of villagers fled to the mountains and forests for safety. Milosevic's refusal to sign an internationally brokered peace agreement in March 1999 precipitated a North Atlantic Treaty Organization air campaign to crush Serbia's military strength. Following the Serbian retreat from Kosovo, UN peacekeepers moved in and assumed administrative control of the region. However, despite the UN presence, ethnic Albanians began a series of violent reprisals against Kosovo's small Serb population.

Hoping to extend his hold over the country and take advantage of splintered opposition groups, Milosevic called early elections in September 2000. Although

defeated by Vojislav Kostunica, Milosevic initially refused to step down from office, inciting massive protests and demonstrations across the country. Shortly after his defeat, the United States and the European Union (EU) lifted their sanctions against the country. Milosevic was sent to The Hague to face charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide, in relation to his wars against Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. His trial before a UN tribunal began in 2001 and continued with many delays and suspensions until his death in 2006.

On March 14, 2002, Serbia and Montenegro signed an EU-brokered accord destroying the Yugoslav federation and forming a new Balkan state. Under the agreement, Serbia and Montenegro became semi-independent states sharing a common foreign and defense policy but maintaining independent economies, customs services, and currencies. The new union of Serbia and Montenegro, approved by the Federal Assembly in June 2002 and officially established in February 2003 by the approval of a new Constitutional Charter (2003) and law to implement it, was intended to keep the states in a loose union for a period of three years, at which time they could reevaluate the agreement and choose to opt out of the union.

Montenegrins voted in May 2006 to discontinue the union with Serbia. Accepting the vote, Serbia declared its independence the following month and established diplomatic relations with Montenegro. Also in 2006, the Serbian government and Kosovo's Serb and ethnic Albanian communities began talks over the future status of the province. These talks culminated in a UN proposal for Kosovo's supervised independence, which was rejected by the Serbian government. In the face of this breakdown in negotiations, Kosovo unilaterally declared independence in February 2008 and was recognized by the United States and most of the EU member states. Serbia and Russia denounced the move and blocked UN recognition of the breakaway province. NATO and EU troops stationed in Kosovo virtually ensure its independent existence, but Serbia has vowed not to give up the region formally.

John B. Allcock

See also: Bosnian War; Milosevic, Slobodan; Montenegro; Yugoslavia

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Seselj, Vojislav

Vojislav Seselj is a Serbian nationalist politician and ideologue, currently on trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) for alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was born on October 11, 1954, in Sarajevo, to an ethnic Serb family originally from eastern Herzegovina. As a student he studied law, first at the University of Sarajevo and then at the University of Belgrade, from which he obtained a doctorate in 1979; at the age of 25, he became the youngest holder of a PhD in Yugoslavia.

Under Yugoslavia's communist regime he was a committed member of the party, but over time he became critical of some of its policies, and in 1984 he was arrested and sentenced to 8 years in prison for "counterrevolutionary" activities. On appeal, the Supreme Court of Yugoslavia reduced the sentence to 6 years, then to 4, and finally to 2 years. Seselj was released in 1986, 2 months early. In total, he spent 22 months in jail, 6 of which were spent in solitary confinement. Upon his release, he settled in Belgrade, where he began increasingly to associate with Serbian nationalist groups.

In 1989 Seselj visited the United States (where he had previously taught briefly at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor). Then, later that year, together with Vuk Draskovic and Mirko Jovic, he founded the anticommunist Serbian National Renewal (*Srpska narodna obnova*, or SNO) party. He split from this group on February 23, 1991, to form the Serbian Radical Party (*Srpska radikalna stranka*, or SRS), a far-right ultranationalist party dedicated to the ideal of a Greater Serbia expanded from the other regions of what was Yugoslavia. In June 1991 he was elected a member of parliament of the Serbian Republic. Much of his campaign was dedicated to promoting the Greater Serbia notion, as well as appealing to all Serbs to unite and fight against Serbia's

“hereditary enemies”—Croats, Muslims, and Albanians living within the territory of the former Yugoslavia—in order to create a homogeneous Serbian state.

In an election in December 1992, during the Bosnian War and after the secession of Bosnia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia, the SRS won a respectable 27 percent of the vote. The Socialist Party of incumbent president Slobodan Milosevic won 40 percent, and while Seselj enjoyed a cordial relationship with Milosevic during the early stages of Yugoslavia’s disintegration, in September 1993 the two came into conflict over what Seselj considered Milosevic’s halfhearted support for Republika Srpska. This opposition saw him jailed twice, in 1994 and 1995. Despite this, in 1998 Seselj joined Milosevic’s national unity government, formed as a response to the violent challenge coming from within the Serbian province of Kosovo. He was Serbia’s vice president between 1998 and 2000.

On February 14, 2003, Seselj was indicted by the ICTY, charged with 15 counts of crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war. The indictment charged that his speeches and actions, as the head of volunteer groups that his party sent into specific areas during the Croatian and Bosnian wars, actively demonstrated his participation in a joint criminal enterprise aimed at ethnically cleansing Muslims and Croats from large sections of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in order to integrate these regions into a new state under Serb domination. Such actions were proscribed under Articles 3 (violations of the laws and customs of war) and 5 (crimes against humanity) of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) Statute. It was stated that the criminal enterprise came into existence before August 1, 1991, and continued at least until December 1995. The indictment further stated that Seselj worked toward achieving the aims of this conspiracy with a number of others, including Milosevic, General Ratko Mladic, Radovan Karadzic, Zeljko Raznatovic (also known as “Arkan”), and Biljana Plavsic, among others. Based on the indictment, he was accused on the basis of his individual criminal responsibility.

Seselj surrendered voluntarily to the ICTY on February 24, 2003. His initial court appearance took place two days later, and he refused to enter a plea. Seselj refused to attend the trial opening. The court therefore designated a lawyer to take his defense. Seselj, in response, insisted on the right to either mount his own defense or to nominate his own counsel, but this was denied by the tribunal, which instead imposed counsel upon him. In protest, on November 10, 2006,

Seselj began a hunger strike. In Belgrade, on December 2, 2006, about 40,000 people marched in Seselj's support. He ended his hunger strike after 28 days, when the Appeals Chamber granted him the right to defend himself.

The opening statement from the prosecution was read on November 7, 2007, and the presentation of evidence commenced on December 11, 2007. By February 11, 2009, the prosecution had presented 71 witnesses. With only some seven hours left before the conclusion of the prosecution's case, however, the trial was suspended indefinitely at the prosecution's request. It was claimed that witness intimidation had corrupted the judicial process. After the trial resumed, Seselj claimed that the court had presented numerous false witnesses—and that, as a result, the prosecution's case was so flimsy that he did not even need to produce any witnesses of his own.

On July 24, 2009, he was sentenced to 15 months in custody for contempt of court, for having earlier published the names of three confidential witnesses whose identities had been ordered suppressed by the tribunal. The trial resumed on January 12, 2010, and continued until March 17, 2010. On March 30, 2010, it was adjourned until further notice. A second charge of contempt, again involving witness intimidation, was brought against him for allegedly disclosing, in a book he wrote while in custody, court-restricted information regarding 11 protected witnesses, including their names, occupations, and places of residence.

In September 2011 the tribunal rejected Seselj's bid to have his trial discontinued. He had claimed that on the grounds of natural justice he should be set free owing to the unusual (and on his submission, unreasonable) length of the case. The court found that the trial could continue, arguing that there is no set time limit for a trial of this nature.

In June 2012, Seselj was found in contempt of court for a third time. For this, he was sentenced to two years in prison.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Draskovic, Vuk; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Karadzic, Radovan; Milosevic, Slobodan; Mladic, Ratko; Plavsic, Biljana; Raznatovic, Zeljko

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Sexual Violence against Women

From 1992 to 1995, forced deportations, torture, and internment in concentration camps characterized Serbian ethnic cleansing campaigns. When, within the Bosnian War's first year, alarming numbers of Bosniak women arrived in Croatian refugee camps reporting extreme sexual violence, enslavement, and torture, it became clear that mass rape was a hallmark of Serb ethnic cleansing. While the exact number of rapes during the Yugoslav wars is unknown, and combatants on all three sides are responsible for a range of wartime atrocities, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) estimates that from 1992 to 1995 Serb forces raped 20,000 to 50,000 women and girls as part of a systematic plan to terrorize and destroy the Bosniak community. Witnesses tell of women and girls raped in their homes and in public spaces—in schools, hospitals, and churches, on buses, in the streets, and even in police stations.

Further, while some men and women in all concentration camps were victims of sexual violence, some camps were specifically dedicated to mass rape. A common feature of Bosnia's wartime landscape, women and girls aged six to 70 were enslaved for as long as two years in more than 30 rape camps across Bosnia. The atrocities therein were predicated on intimate gendered indignities. Rapists, who often knew their victims before the war, peppered misogynist taunts with familiarity. Sometimes brothers or fathers were forced to rape their own family members and were killed if they refused to do so. Moreover, women were often impregnated and held until termination was impossible; forcing them to have "Serb babies," as Serbian culture is patrilineal. Before, during, and after rape, the women were frequently brutalized with genital mutilation; beatings with fists, boots, and rifles; and the "branding" of their flesh with Serb nationalist insignia (among other tortures). Enforced domestic servitude—cooking and cleaning for their rapists—compounded their

humiliation. At their captors' will and whim, women were bought and sold, traded for goods, or given as rewards to soldiers.

The rape camps in the town of Foca have gained particular notoriety, so much so that Foca has become synonymous with rape. Beginning in 1992, Serb forces brutally expelled Foca's Bosniak men and imprisoned countless women in locations throughout the town. Partizan Hall, Foca's sports complex, served as one of Foca's largest rape camps. At Partizan, directly next to Foca's police station, enslaved women, some as young as 12, were tortured and raped dozens of times per day. Each night, Serb military (often in collusion with Foca's police and even some civilians) selected women to be "taken out." Those "taken out" could be raped by as many as 20 men in a single night. One survivor testified that she was raped more than 100 times in two months. Some selected women were never seen alive again. Those who escaped Partizan Hall to report their enslavement and abuse at the neighboring police station were subsequently raped, beaten, and reenslaved by Foca's local police.

In addition to repeated rape, survivors of the camp set up at Foca's high school were forced to dance naked at gunpoint to entertain soldiers, scrub blood and skin from the torture rooms, and watch the torture and execution of family members. When TV crews from Belgrade and Pale visited the high school, the women were threatened with grave consequences should they fail to speak positively about the conditions of their detention, thus furthering the Serbian public illusion that Serb forces had clean hands.

Survivors' accounts of grotesque sexualized violence and its often public display suggest not only that the Serbian authorities approved of the zeal with which Serb soldiers and paramilitary employed systematic rape in the ethnic cleansing of Foca, but also that Foca's local authorities and even some civilians were eager participants. While certainly there were incidents of criminal war rape on the Croatian and Bosniak sides as well, and all sides resorted to rape warfare on some occasions, the ICTY has determined that Serb forces alone employed systematic rape as a weapon in service of a larger ethnic cleansing policy. While the physical violence of war rape is most often rendered on individual female bodies, as a part of a greater war strategy, rape is symbolically directed at the larger community, especially against the men who formerly controlled sexual access to these same women. These women were victims both because of their gender and their ethnicity. Hence these rapes both fit the definition of genocide and speak to the ways in which women experience war as a part of the group at large and, as a gendered body, both as the assumed

property of the victor and as the assumed property of the vanquished. This flagrant strategic appropriation of the female body in service of an ostensibly genocidal plan, particularly in conjunction with the concurrent use of genocidal rape in Rwanda, was sufficiently brutal, unprecedented, and publicized to prompt international attention.

In 1993, the European Community commissioned an investigation into reports of Serb atrocities. Their report stated, “In Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, rape has been used as an instrument for ‘ethnic cleansing.’ Rape cannot be seen as incidental to the main purpose of aggression, but as serving a strategic purpose in itself.” The UN concurred, and in 1996, the ICTY charged eight individuals with crimes against humanity for their roles in Foca’s rape camps, including Dragan Zelenovic, Gojko Jankovic, Radovan Stankovic, Dragan Gagovic, and Janko Janjic. Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac, and Zoran Vukovic were additionally charged with genocide. In March 2000, the ICTY commenced the landmark Foca rape trial against Kunarac, Kovac, and Vukovic. Only 16 women came to testify, and even then, only with their identities masked—under pseudonyms, with their faces and voices disguised to the public. Still, these 16 testimonies were crucial to creating a historical record of the atrocities at Foca and to the success of this groundbreaking legal case. In 2001, the ICTY found these men guilty of sexual torture, enslavement, and rape as crimes against humanity. Although the ICTY stopped short of calling these crimes “genocide,” as the first legal case in which war rape has been successfully prosecuted as a crime against the violated woman, the Foca case marks an evolution of international law and of women’s human rights.

In the end, Kunarac was sentenced to 28 years; Kovac 20 years; and Vukovic 12 years. Zelenovic was apprehended in 2005; in 2007, in exchange for his guilty plea and full-disclosure testimony, he was sentenced to 15 years. The ICTY transferred Jankovic and Stankovic to the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina which, in 2007, found both men guilty of crimes against humanity and sentenced them to 34 and 20 years, respectively. Gagovic and Janjic were killed during their arrests in 1999 and 2000.

Christina M. Morus

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Foca; Gagovic, Dragan; Mothers of Srebrenica; Rape Camps; Rape Warfare; Women in Black; Zajovic, Stasa

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Silajdzic, Haris

Haris Silajdzic is a Bosniak politician and former university academic who served as prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina between October 25, 1993, and January 30, 1996, under the presidency of Alija Izetbegovic. Born in Sarajevo on October 1, 1945, Silajdzic graduated from the Faculty of Arabic Language and Islamic Studies in Libya and obtained his PhD in international relations, on the subject of American-Albanian relations.

As a university academic, Silajdzic taught Arabic at the University of Pristina, was a professor of languages and philosophy at the University of Sarajevo, and held visiting positions at Cornell University, Harvard, and the University of Maryland, among other institutions.

During the Bosnian War of 1992–1995, Silajdzic was an important political figure representing Bosnia-Herzegovina. He served as foreign minister from 1991 to November 1993, and then as prime minister between November 1993 and February 1996. A key political figure, for many people in the West he was the public face of the Bosnian Muslims. Articulate in English and with a clear ability to project the best possible image, Silajdzic portrayed a Bosnia that deserved a fairer deal from the great powers than it had been receiving since declaring independence on April 6, 1992.

Throughout the Bosnian War Silajdzic was perceived as the most visible advocate for self-defense and Western military assistance to Bosnia, and was harshly critical of the general arms embargo that was supposed to apply to all parties involved in the fighting—a situation that gave an immense advantage to Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs, owing to a considerable stockpiling of arms that had taken place over a period of years prior to the start of hostilities. At every turn, Silajdzic insisted that Bosnia faced foreign aggression by Croatia and

Serbia, and that as a member of the United Nations it had a right to call upon the UN to live up to its charter and come to the aid of a member state facing foreign aggression.

He also alerted the West to the issue of ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats by Serb forces and reinforced the message whenever he was given the opportunity. Throughout the war he was a constant visitor in Western and Islamic capitals and also spoke at the UN, always striving to raise consciousness about ethnic cleansing.

In 1995, Silajdzic was a member of the Bosnian delegation that negotiated the U.S.-sponsored Dayton Accords, called by U.S. president Bill Clinton and brokered by his representative Richard Holbrooke. Silajdzic was a leading member of the Bosnian team. Although the negotiations ultimately ended the conflict, he was, and remains, a critic of the terms of the agreement, which in the eyes of many rewarded the Bosnian Serbs for their ethnic cleansing activities by permitting them to retain much of the territory that was formerly majority Muslim. Within Bosnia, he is not alone. Since 1995 organizations throughout the country have voiced dissatisfaction with the Dayton Accords provisions; and opposition to the autonomy of Republika Srpska, the Serb autonomous area, has been extensive.

In 1996 Silajdzic founded the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, or SBiH), a liberal conservative party that seeks to eliminate the two entities of Republika Srpska and the Bosniak-Croat Federation within a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina. He became cochairman of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina between December 1996 and February 2000. In a general election in October 2002 he was a candidate for the Bosniak presidency but was unsuccessful.

Then, in a presidential election on October 1, 2006, Silajdzic won 62.8 percent of the Bosniak vote, electing him as the Bosniak member of the rotating presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was sworn in as the Bosniak member of the country's tripartite presidency on November 6, 2006, five weeks after the general election.

As one who was a member of the Bosnian negotiating team at Dayton in 1995, he views the agreement as an obstacle to the reunification of the country. In 2006 and 2007 he made a number of moves toward canceling certain parts of the Dayton Agreement, with a view to amending the Bosnian constitution in favor of a unified model. While this is always a possibility, the likelihood is that if this were to happen in the near future the response from the Bosnian Serbs

could well see a recommencement of hostilities. Silajdzic thus remains a key figure in Bosnian politics whose political stance on the issue of national unity ironically threatens to maintain the divisions already present in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosniaks; Holbrooke, Richard; Izetbegovic, Alija

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Smailovic, Vedran

Vedran Smailovic, known throughout the world as “The Cellist of Sarajevo,” was an inspirational musician whose playing of the *Adagio in G Minor* by Tomaso Albinoni during a crucial time in the Bosnian War brought home to the West the horror of the siege of Sarajevo in an especially poignant manner. Born in Sarajevo on November 11, 1956, he came from a family of musicians who toured Yugoslavia under the name *Musica Ad Hominem* (“Music for the People”), taking their music to small villages and often putting together special programs for children. As an adult, the highly talented Smailovic became well known for his playing with the Sarajevo String Quartet, though he had also appeared with the Sarajevo Opera, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, the Symphony Orchestra RTV Sarajevo, and the National Theatre of Sarajevo.

After the start of the war in April 1992, Smailovic was confident that Sarajevo’s unity and pluralistic values would prevail over the destruction that was taking place in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, and that it would be impossible to destroy such strong unity. This ideal kept him buoyant during the siege, and enabled him to tolerate the cold, the food, power, and water shortages, and the constant mortar bombings and sniper fire from the Bosnian Serbs in the hills surrounding the city.

On May 27, 1992, however, this attitude changed. A long queue waited patiently on Vaso Miskin Street for bread, in front of one of the last functioning bakeries in the city, and at approximately 10:00 a.m. a mortar shell fired from the Bosnian Serbs then surrounding the city fell into the line, killing 22 people and wounding 160 people instantly. More would die in subsequent days.

Enraged by what had happened and feeling powerless to do anything about it, Smailovic decided that he would at least try to raise the world’s consciousness as to what was happening in his city. The next day he resolved that he would protest the senseless killing through his music, in a very public way. For the next

22 days, in honor of each of those killed in the bombing, Smailovic gave a performance of Albinoni's *Adagio*—in ruined homes, in the open, in the smouldering remains of the National Library, and elsewhere. His approach was simple. Dressed in formal attire as he was when playing for the Sarajevo Symphony, he would set himself up on a battered camp stool in order to play his music. Sometimes, the sounds of war would drown him out, but his playing continued.

His heroic antiwar statement caught the attention of the world. In the constant retelling of the story of "The Cellist of Sarajevo," however, some of the detail was lost. For example, word was conveyed that Smailovic would always play at 4:00 p.m., in the same place as where a mortar had hit at that time— notwithstanding that the attack took place at 10:00 a.m., or that Smailovic varied his location so as not to get shot by sniper fire. Nor did he stop his protest at the end of 22 days; indeed, he had been playing his music since the siege began, and never stopped playing throughout the siege. His weapon against the Serb attackers was his cello. He played each and every day until he left Sarajevo in December 1993, often playing for free at funerals, in graveyards, and bombsites.

As his story began to circulate, Smailovic became a symbol for peace in Bosnia. An English composer, David Wilde, was so moved by Smailovic's defiant act that he wrote a composition for unaccompanied cello, simply called "The Cellist of Sarajevo." One of the world's most accomplished cellists, Yo-Yo Ma then played this piece at the International Cello Festival in Manchester, in 1994, with Smailovic present. Several other creative artists, from rock bands to folk singers, have also paid tribute to Smailovic in their music.

Most controversially, however, was the use made of a character based on Smailovic in a 2008 novel by Canadian author Steven Galloway, *The Cellist of Sarajevo*. Upon learning of the novel's existence, Smailovic publicly expressed his outrage over the appearance of a book that utilized his persona without authority, and with no possibility of financial compensation. He was incensed by the novel which he saw as capitalizing on his act, a claim Galloway has since denied; rather, he has asserted, he was paying tribute to Smailovic through the medium of literature.

Vedran Smailovic managed to leave Sarajevo in December 1993, moving to Ireland like another inspirational Sarajevo siege survivor, Zlata Filipovic. He relocated to Warrenpoint, Northern Ireland, outside of Belfast. Celebrated as a musician who defied the city's snipers, Smailovic showed that the human spirit can muster emotional forms of resistance every bit as powerful as the physical

kind. His actions demonstrated that he would not give in to terror, making a statement that the forces that would destroy the city could not destroy the spirit of the people who lived there. Smailovic's act was a reinforcement of dignity and humanity in the face of horror. Ultimately, he played for life, for peace, and for the possibility of hope that exists even in the darkest hour.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Filipovic, Zlata; Sarajevo, Siege of

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Smith, Rupert

General Sir Rupert Smith is a former British military officer who in 1995 became force commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Sarajevo, succeeding General Sir Michael Rose. Born in England in 1943, he was educated at Haileybury and the Imperial Service College and later at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, joining the army in 1962. He was commissioned as an officer in the Parachute Regiment in 1964. Smith served in the British Army in East and South Africa, Saudi Arabia, the Caribbean, Europe, and Malaysia before being promoted to major general and assigned as general officer commanding the British 1st Armoured Division in 1990–1992, during the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991).

In 1992 he became the first assistant chief of defence staff for operations and security at Britain's Ministry of Defence. Here he was intimately involved in the development of Britain's peacekeeping strategy in Bosnia-Herzegovina as part of its UNPROFOR commitment until 1994, prior to being appointed as commander and sent to Sarajevo in early 1995.

Unlike his predecessor, General Rose, who had constantly argued that the situation in Bosnia required impartiality and evenhandedness within the framework of a stout resistance to any diminution of UNPROFOR's authority, Smith's arrival appeared to signal an immediate feeling of change at headquarters—a new broom, so to speak. Rose's departure in January 1995 forced Western governments to finally impose a solution on the Bosnian Serbs in order to bring peace to the region, a recognition largely determined by Smith's own attitude toward the situation he faced.

The departure of Rose led to an almost instantaneous transformation of the culture in the Sarajevo headquarters. Smith brought with him a measure of military common sense and order and refused to play politics with the mission entrusted to him. He was determined to break the cycle of what he saw as appeasement of the Serbs, vulnerability of the Bosniak civilians, and inaction on

the part of UNPROFOR—features that seemed to have characterized UNPROFOR from the start. The detachment could not remain on in the manner it had been until now, so Smith proceeded to do something which under Rose had seemed untenable; he would fulfill his mandate by militarily deterring attacks on the UN “safe areas” and ensuring the passage of humanitarian aid and, if necessary, he would use the armed force permitted him under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

It was considered by some that Smith’s military background, as a parachute regiment commander, suited him to be able to best meet the military challenges posed by the situation in Bosnia. With frontline combat experience, he had a very realistic sense of the fighting abilities of the Bosnian Serb army and of that army’s threshold for pain. He knew the power of the military weapon he possessed, and saw that by using it—and not just threatening to do so—the Bosnian Serbs would quickly lose the will to continue the fight in the face of the devastation the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) could bring.

The response saw much more intensive utilization of British air power than before, and the use of wide-ranging and massive air strikes against the Serbs, which targeted command and control centers far from the UN safe areas. He used the same strategy to break the siege of Sarajevo and force the Serb guns to retreat, and also created a UN rapid reaction force to ensure the Serbs complied with the new circumstances. In May 1995 Smith destroyed two Bosnian Serb ammunition dumps at Pale, bringing the war home as closely as possible to Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic. It was through actions such as these that the military reality facing the Bosnian Serbs became clear, and, as a result, a set of steps began that would ultimately lead to the Dayton Accords—and a peace settlement—by November 1995.

After leaving Bosnia, Smith was appointed as general officer commanding Northern Ireland (1996–1998), prior to his final assignment as deputy supreme allied commander Europe of NATO (DSACEUR) between 1998 and 2001. As DSACEUR he was second-in-command to General Wesley K. Clark, overseeing NATO’s Operation ALLIED FORCE, the bombing campaign against Serbian forces in Kosovo and Serbia in the spring of 1999 that had the intention of stopping the ethnic cleansing then taking place in Serbia’s southern province. Smith stayed on after the campaign’s successful outcome, helping to develop the European Defence and Security Identity, a NATO initiative designed to establish a specifically European identity in relation to security and defense matters.

General Smith retired from the British Army in 2002. In 2005 he published his reflections on the nature of modern warfare, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*. In this, he outlined what he identified as a paradigm shift in military activity from industrial war to what he referred to as “war among the people”—a way of understanding why it is that the ability of nations to employ force with utility has declined owing to a new reality: “the reality in which the people in the streets and houses and fields—all the people, anywhere—are the battlefield. Military engagements can take place anywhere. ... Civilians are the targets, objectives to be won, as much as an opposing force.” Given this, military outcomes can no longer necessarily be resolved directly by military force alone. In this context, modern-day terrorist movements are in fact the proponents of modern warfare. This theory forms part of a broader discussion within contemporary military and political scholarship relating to asymmetrical warfare and what has been termed the revolution in military affairs, or RMA.

In 2006 Smith was appointed as an international adviser to the International Committee of the Red Cross, where he was able to continue his advocacy on behalf of definite action in the face of massive human rights abuses.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Clark, Wesley; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Operation ALLIED FORCE; Rose, Michael; Sarajevo, Siege of; United Kingdom; United Nations Protection Force

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Sniper Alley

“Sniper Alley” was the nickname given to a key stretch of road in Sarajevo during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. It is really one, long arterial road that officially undergoes a name change as it gets closer to the city, from Bulevar Mese Selimovica to Zmaj od Bosne, just prior to entering the central business district, where once more it changes name to the famous Oblala Kulina Bana. The thoroughfare that became known as Sniper Alley is thus the major approach road from Sarajevo’s western industrial suburbs to the city center.

During the siege of Sarajevo long sections of the road were an easy target for Bosnian Serb snipers in the hills surrounding the city. Without much in the way of built-up cover to protect motorists, hundreds died trying to traverse the vulnerable sections. As one of the primary “no-go” areas leading to downtown, Sniper Alley was a road on which drivers were strongly discouraged to travel. If a journey had to be made no matter what, drivers were encouraged to speed, to dodge and weave, and to do everything they could to avoid collecting fire from those shooting at them. And it was most certainly not a place for pedestrians, even though many found no alternative but to use the thoroughfare in going about their daily business. Sniper Alley became symbolic of the siege of Sarajevo, littered with burnt-out and shot-out wrecks of motor vehicles and with makeshift barriers of all kinds from which pedestrians would run, looking for cover. There are proposals that Sniper Alley will at some time in the future undergo a beautification process that would restore its dignity as a major thoroughfare, while paying respect to all those who lost their lives along its precincts during the siege.

Paul R. Bartrop



With the possibility that the siege of Sarajevo might soon be lifted, three young Bosniaks walk along the notorious stretch of road nicknamed “Sniper Alley,” in downtown Sarajevo, in October 1995. This exposed piece of roadway became a favorite killing ground for Serb snipers during the siege. (AP Photo/Rikard Larma)

See also: Sarajevo, Siege of

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Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers

In 1992, at the beginning of the 1992–1995 Bosnian War, the United Nations (UN) created a multinational peacekeeping contingent known as the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to shield civilians in the various areas of conflict. UNPROFOR was composed of troops or support personnel drawn from 42 nations and at the height of its deployment numbered approximately 39,000 troops. Its initial mission began in February 1992 but it was not completely operational until June. On April 16, 1993, UNPROFOR designated Srebrenica, a Bosnian city located in the eastern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a “safe haven,” where civilians could seek refuge, supposedly in relative safety. The city was first supervised by a small Canadian detachment of UNPROFOR, but in January 1994, the Canadians were replaced by a Dutch paratrooper battalion numbering 1,170 personnel. The Dutch presence in Srebrenica proved to be highly problematic and controversial; it also aided (some say unwittingly, others say voluntarily) in the Srebrenica genocide of July 1995.

The Dutch troops, who were not properly trained or supplied for their mission, soon became overwhelmed by events in Srebrenica, and the UN was largely unaware of the deteriorating events there. Certainly, the idea that the city was a true safe area was illusory. Over the succeeding months of their deployment, the Dutch suffered several casualties and witnessed a number of their troops taken prisoner by Bosnian Serb troops, who then physically abused them or used them as human shields.

By early July 1995, the Bosnian Serbs were poised to capture Srebrenica, and Dutch forces were entirely unprepared to resist the much larger force. On July 10, Bosnian Serb troops, under the command of General Ratko Mladic, entered the city and prepared to occupy it. UNPROFOR and Dutch resistance

was negligible. Between July 11 and July 13, Bosnian Serb troops perpetrated a grisly massacre of at least 8,000 unarmed Muslim civilians, chiefly men and young boys. This represented the worst atrocity of the entire Bosnian conflict and was characterized by the UN secretary-general as the worst massacre to take place in Europe since World War II.

It was abundantly clear after the fact that the Dutch had been woefully unprepared and ill-equipped to stave off the loss of Srebrenica; worse still, they had failed to carry UNPROFOR's mission to protect civilians. News of the disaster reached the Netherlands quickly, and the country mourned the loss of so many innocent people. The Dutch were also appalled when a story emerged that Lieutenant Colonel Thom Karremans, commander of Dutch troops at Srebrenica, had met with Mladic on the night before Bosnian Serb troops marched into Srebrenica and toasted the triumphant Bosnian Serbian general. Although the story and accompanying photo were largely contrived by Serb propagandists, the damage was done and the Dutch government was deeply embarrassed. Karremans explained that the picture of him drinking with Mladic was taken after the fall of the city and that the glass contained water, not alcohol.

The next year, Dutch prime minister Wim Kok called for an official investigative inquiry into the events at Srebrenica. The resulting report, assembled by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), was released on April 10, 2002. Among other conclusions, the report stated that the Dutch peacekeeping force had a vague and unattainable mandate, and that the troops themselves were improperly trained, equipped, and led. The report also blamed the UN for not sufficiently supervising UNPROFOR's missions and for not reacting in a timely fashion as events on the ground began to change rapidly during the first half of 1995.

The report hit the Netherlands like a bombshell, and Prime Minister Kok promptly declared his intention to dissolve his cabinet and resign his post. By August 22, 2002, his government had been dissolved. At the same time, Ad van Baal, the Dutch army's chief of staff, also resigned his post. The Srebrenica tragedy has continued to haunt the Dutch psyche, and its political landscape has been substantively altered by it. After the Srebrenica debacle, the UN reorganized UNPROFOR and reviewed its mandates, rules of engagement, and military preparedness.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Kok, Willem; Mladic, Ratko; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations; United Nations Protection Force

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Srebrenica Massacre

The Srebrenica Massacre (more frequently referred to today as the Srebrenica genocide) was the worst bloodbath on European soil since the Holocaust. Srebrenica is a town located near the Drina River in eastern Bosnia. After the collapse of Yugoslavia and outbreak of war, this predominantly Bosniak town defended itself successfully against the advance of the Bosnian Serb army in the spring of 1992. The Serbs conducted a wide-scale ethnic cleansing of the region, expelling Bosniaks and increasing Serbian population. Besieged by the Bosnian Serbs, Srebrenica was isolated from Bosniak-controlled territories to the west and was dependent on humanitarian aid provided by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Nevertheless, the Bosniaks, under command of Naser Oric, successfully repelled the Serbian forces throughout 1992 and early 1993. In the spring of 1993, the United Nations (UN) declared Srebrenica a "safe area," along with five other Bosnian Muslim cities (Bihac, Gorazde, Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zepa) then under siege at the hands of the Bosnian Serbs.



A Muslim family arrives in nearby Tuzla after escaping the Serb assault on Srebrenica. The genocidal massacre that took place in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica in July 1995 was the largest instance of its kind in Europe since World War II. Some 8,000 Bosniak men and boys were deliberately murdered by Serb forces and paramilitaries over several days. (Tom Stoddart/Getty Images)

Despite its new status, Srebrenica was never properly defended by UNPROFOR and constantly suffered extreme privation as the Serbs tested the United Nations' resolve by blocking aid convoys. Of over 30,000 UN troops requested for Bosnian Muslim "safe areas," only 7,600 were forthcoming, of which 750 Dutch troops were deployed at Srebrenica. The UN troops were lightly armed and operated under a stringent mandate that made them powerless to successfully engage either of the conflicting sides.

By 1995, after almost three years of resistance, Srebrenica became a symbol of Bosniak resistance, further increasing the city's importance. In July 1995, encouraged by UN vacillation over whether or not to maintain the safe areas, the Bosnian Serb forces under the command of General Ratko Mladic launched a major campaign to capture Srebrenica. The UNPROFOR troops failed to stop the Serb offensive because of a lack of support further up the UN chain of command. As the Serbian forces overran the enclave, over 15,000 Bosniaks fled into the woods while many sought shelter at the UNPROFOR base at nearby Potocari, where the members of the Dutch peacekeepers sheltered about 8,000

Bosnian Muslims. The Serb forces overran the UN base and, after separating women from men, began a methodical killing of the Bosnian Muslims. It is impossible to arrive at precise numbers of the killed but best estimates point to between 7,000 and 8,000 men killed.

The Srebrenica genocide became the worst single war crime of the entire Bosnian conflict and the worst case of mass murder in Europe since the end of the World War II. It also stands as a symbol of the failure by the international community, especially the UN, to prevent mass murders. This genocidal massacre resulted in the indictment of numerous Serbian commanders as war criminals, including Mladic, by the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague.

Alexander Mikaberidze

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Mladic, Ratko; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers; United Nations Protection Force; Women in Black

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T

Tadic, Dusan

Dusan Tadic was the first person to be indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). A Bosnian Serb, he was born in Kozarac, Bosnia-Herzegovina, on October 1, 1955. The son of a local hero, Stoja Tadic, a Serbian partisan fighter during World War II who had helped rid Kozarac of occupying troops from the Nazi-controlled puppet state of Croatia, Tadic was the youngest of four sons raised in poverty. Stoja Tadic reportedly was known as a hard drinker and a physically abusive father. As a young man “Dusko” Tadic earned a black belt in karate and qualified as an auto mechanic in Belgrade. Later, he became a bar owner.

With the secession of Slovenia and Croatia from the Yugoslav Federation in 1991, Tadic entered nationalist and anti-Muslim politics by joining the Serbian Democratic Party (*Srpska Demokratska Stranka*, or SDS). At this time Kozarac, some 10 kilometers east of the town of Prijedor, was 90 percent Muslim. On April 30, 1992, Prijedor was taken by the SDS with the support of military and police forces, and then, on May 24, 1992, Bosnian Serb forces attacked Kozarac and began an artillery barrage that resulted in the death of 800 civilians. The Bosnian Serbs then expelled the town’s non-Serb population in an ethnic cleansing campaign that was accompanied by beatings, robberies, and large-scale mass murder. The residents were removed to concentration camps at Omarska, Keraterm, and Trnopolje. Omarska was generally considered to be the most brutal of these camps.

Tadic was a member of the paramilitary SDS forces supporting the 1st Krajina Corps of the Yugoslav army in the attack, and when the town had been captured the Bosnian Serb forces proceeded to round up the entire non-Serb population and drive them out of Kozarac. During the occupation, Tadic participated in this forced transfer. The most serious crime he was alleged to have committed personally was the killing of two Muslim policemen in Kozarac. He reportedly also took part in atrocities in the camps, particularly Omarska. Once the ethnic cleansing process was complete he was elected president of the local council of the SDS on August 15, 1992.

At the Serb concentration camps at Omarska and Keraterm, Tadic was notorious for his alleged brutality, even though he was not a guard and had no formal role. Beatings and mutilation were common, frequently leading to death. On one occasion he supervised a torture in which an inmate was ordered to bite off the testicles of a fellow prisoner; on another, he reportedly sprayed the contents of a fire extinguisher into a victim's mouth.

In June 1993 Tadic was mobilized for combat duty, but absconded and went into hiding. In August 1993 he went to Germany—first to Nuremberg, then to Munich, where he lived until February 12, 1994. On that day, after he was identified as a war criminal by Bosniak refugees, he was arrested by the German police and indicted for genocide. On April 24, 1995, at the request of the ICTY prosecutor, Tadic was transferred to ICTY custody at The Hague.

Tadic was the first person from any of the wars in the former Yugoslavia to be tried by the ICTY, and the first to appear before an international war crimes tribunal since the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials at the end of World War II. His trial began in May 1996; he was charged with 12 counts of crimes against humanity, 12 counts of grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and 10 counts of violations of the laws and customs of war, to all of which he pleaded not guilty. He was tried for the alleged persecution of the Muslim population of Prijedor area, and the deportation of civilians to the camps at Keraterm, Omarska, and Trnopolje. Among the crimes committed were rape, beatings, and killings of civilians, both inside and outside Omarska. Tadic proclaimed his innocence throughout the duration of the trial.

On May 7, 1997, Trial Chamber II of the ICTY found Tadic guilty on nine counts and partially guilty on two counts of crimes against humanity and violations of the laws of war, and on July 14, 1997, he was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

He appealed the verdict on various grounds, one of which was that the court was illegitimate in its exercise of jurisdiction. Specifically, Tadic argued that the court was illegitimately created through the United Nations Security Council, and that, as such, the United Nations was an executive governmental branch and thus did not have the power to create a judicial body. On July 15, 1999, and after considerable judicial discussion, an Appeals Chamber denied Tadic's appeal. At the same time, it modified the original judgment of the Trial Chamber and convicted Tadic of willful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, and murder. Tadic was now considered to be guilty on the basis of individual responsibility,

having committed crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war.

Tadic was transferred to Germany to serve his sentence. According to the Appeal Chamber's further ruling of January 26, 2000, he could not be released before July 27, 2007; on July 18, 2008, with more than two-thirds of his sentence completed, the ICTY ordered his immediate early release.

The case of Dusko Tadic is significant for several reasons. It was the first case before the ICTY, and Tadic was the first indicted person found to be guilty. Decisions reached by the Appeals Chamber, moreover, added important case-law decisions to international criminal law. Tadic was in fact much more important than his lowly ranked status within the overall structure of Bosnian Serb politics warranted. While the ICTY could not at that time bring the leaders of Serb excesses—for example, Radovan Karadzic or General Ratko Mladic—to trial, Tadic became a test case for what might come later. In this sense, his case became prominent owing to its timing and on account of him being the first ICTY defendant to be found guilty, the case marking an important development in international humanitarian law.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Concentration Camps; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia; Omarska

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Ten-Day War

The Ten-Day War, also known as the Slovenian Independence War, took place from June 27 to July 7, 1991, as a consequence of Slovenia's independence declaration on June 25, 1991. The brief conflict pitted the Slovenian Territorial Defence (TO) against the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), the main federal Yugoslav force headquartered in Belgrade. The Ten-Day War was essentially precipitated by the Slovenes as they prepared to break away from the federated republic. Indeed, Slovene leaders had anticipated Belgrade's reaction to their independence bid and had been planning for an armed conflict for months.

After Slovenia held democratic elections in April 1990, which were won by the DEMOS coalition, the JNA declared that all territorial defense forces would be disbanded and subsumed by the JNA. This was a clear bid to forestall independence drives among the various Yugoslav republics. Slovenia tried to circumvent this decree by announcing in late September 1990 that its territorial defense force would remain intact and under the complete control of the Slovenian government. Simultaneously, the Slovenes created a clandestine command structure for their security forces that would act on behalf of the Slovene government and prepare for a potential confrontation with the JNA. Known as the Manoeuvre Structure of National Protection (MSNZ), this cohort of Slovenian military commanders developed a detailed plan to keep the JNA at bay and protect Slovenia's anticipated independence declaration. They also purchased weapons from abroad, including lightweight antiaircraft missiles and antitank missiles.

In the late spring of 1990, when the JNA tried to seize control of the TO, the Slovenes cleverly shifted resources and manpower to the MSNZ command structure. This move secretly integrated nearly 21,000 armed troops and police personnel from the TO into the MSNZ command structure. This move was accomplished without the knowledge of federal authorities in Belgrade.

In December 1990, referenda held in Slovenia and Croatia resulted in popular mandates for independence. On June 25, 1991, both nations formally declared their independence. The move was not supported by most Europeans or Americans, who wished to see Yugoslavia remain intact. Slovene authorities were nevertheless well prepared for a potential conflict with Belgrade. The JNA decided to contest Slovenia's independence but eschewed a major military offensive, fearing that such a move might only embolden Slovenian independence fighters and invite outside intervention.

Realizing that they were badly outgunned by the JNA, the Slovenians wisely decided to take up defensive positions and to wage a guerilla-style conflict if war with the JNA became a reality. On June 26, units of the JNA began moving toward the Italian-Slovene border. This provoked a stiff demonstration by the Slovenes, who nevertheless held their fire, hoping to draw the JNA into their clutches and force them to fire the first shot. At about the same time, according to their prearranged battle plan, the Slovenes took control of all border posts and seized Brnik's airport. This left the TO in a strong defensive position. As if on cue, a JNA unit fired the first shot of the short war at 2:30 p.m. on June 27, 1991. The next 10 days saw sporadic fighting, with the Slovenes fighting mainly from defensive positions and launching hit-and-run raids against JNA forces. However, the fighting remained at a very low intensity, and few civilians were involved.

In the end, some 45,000 Slovenian forces (including 10,000 police) fought to a standstill a much-better equipped JNA force of 22,500. The Slovenes protected their territory well and did not permit the JNA to launch any major offensives. The war ended on July 7, 1991, with the Brujuni Accord, an agreement brokered chiefly by the European Economic Community. That arrangement ended the conflict and protected Slovenian and Croatian independence. It also guaranteed the independence of the TO and Slovenian police and the removal of all Yugoslav military forces from Slovenia by October 1991. On May 22, 1992, Slovenia was admitted to the United Nations as a sovereign state; in 2004, it joined the European Union.

The war claimed 44 JNA deaths and 146 wounded in action. The Slovenes suffered 18 dead and 182 wounded. Twelve foreign nationals, mostly journalists, also died in the fighting. Civilian casualties were light—mainly nonserious injuries—and property damage was negligible.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Croatian War of Independence; Yugoslavia; Yugoslavia People's Army

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Thaci, Hashim

Hashim Thaci is a former prime minister of Kosovo and leader of the Democratic Party of Kosovo (DPK). He was a leading figure in the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) from the group's inception until its disbanding in 1999 and was instrumental in promoting the rebel organization's transition into the police force known as the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC). His election as prime minister in November 2007 marked the first step toward Kosovar independence, which Thaci officially declared in February 2008.

Thaci was born on April 24, 1968, in the town of Brocna within the larger municipality of Srbica, near Kosovo's Drenica Valley. Kosovo was then a part of Yugoslavia. He studied history and philosophy at the parallel University of Pristina that had been established, funded, and populated by ethnic Albanians who were fed up with the Serb-dominated policies that had taken hold at the main University of Pristina. Thaci became the first president of the student body at the underground Albanian-language institution. He pursued postgraduate work in international relations and the history of Southeast Europe at the University of Zurich in Switzerland and became involved with Albanian Kosovar political organizations in that country, including the growing People's Movement of Kosovo. After becoming a prominent member of that group, Thaci joined the nascent KLA in 1993.

Operating under the nom de guerre "Gjarpni" (Albanian for "snake"), Thaci became one of the leaders of the KLA. Among other things, he was initially responsible for KLA arms procurement and training operations and took part in activities in Albania and Kosovo. It is widely rumored that Thaci was involved in underground criminal activities during this period as well, including the smuggling of weapons and goods into Kosovo and dealing with members of organized-crime groups in neighboring countries under the guise of an organization known as the Drenica Group. Beginning in 1993, early KLA

attacks targeted Serbian police and military forces in an effort to achieve independence through armed resistance, and Thaci allegedly participated in some of these guerrilla operations. After the KLA publicly asserted itself in 1997, however, Thaci emerged as the political leader of the group.

As the public face of the KLA, Thaci engaged in a campaign of public relations and diplomacy amid the chaotic fighting of 1998 and 1999. He was invited to peace talks in Rambouillet, France, in February 1999. It was there that he eventually agreed to an international proposition for Kosovar autonomy wherein the KLA, Ibrahim Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo, and the United Democratic League would share political power. The next month, aerial forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began air strikes against Serbian targets, and Thaci worked with NATO commander General Wesley Clark to coordinate target selection using KLA ground forces. Also at this time, Thaci organized the Party for the Democratic Progress of Kosovo (PDPK) to distance the political career he envisioned from the military activities of the KLA. After NATO peacekeeping troops and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) entered the country, Thaci worked to transform the KLA into a regional police force that became the KPC.

By 2000, the PDPK had become the DPK and Thaci was a popular figure in Kosovo. Soon, however, his image and that of the DPK were tarnished as violence against minority Serbs in Kosovo escalated and required intervention by the peacekeeping troops. Thaci and the DPK came in a distant second in 2000 municipal voting and 2001 parliamentary elections. A similar defeat was handed to the DPK in 2003 municipal elections, and the party would remain the primary opposition in the Kosovo Assembly through subsequent parliamentary elections in 2004. Relations between Thaci and some UNMIK officials deteriorated as he consistently championed a radical road to independence. Yet he also began to promote the idea of an independent Kosovo aligned strongly with the European Union (EU). This won him some favor in many countries and established him as an ally of the West but made him an object of scorn in Serbia and that country's staunch ally, Russia.

Thaci and the DPK won 2007 parliamentary elections by a significant margin with nearly 35 percent of the votes, and Thaci became the prime minister of Kosovo in November 2007. He instantly made it clear that he intended to declare independence for Kosovo at the earliest opportunity. After receiving support from the United States and many EU member states and earning the ire of Russia and Serbia, Kosovo's independence was finally declared on February

17, 2008. Thaci thus became the first postindependence head of government of the Republic of Kosovo (*Republika e Kosoves*/Republika Kosovo).

Evan Brown

See also: Kosovo Liberation Army; Kosovo, War Crimes in; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Rugova, Ibrahim

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Tito, Josip Broz

Josip Broz Tito was a Yugoslav communist leader, a major figure in the Yugoslav resistance during World War II, and a leader of Yugoslavia. Born on May 7, 1892, into a peasant family in the village of Kumrovec in Croatia on the border with Slovenia (then part of Austria), Josip Broz was one of 15 children born to a Croat blacksmith and a Slovene mother. Much of his early life remains obscure. With little formal education, he became a metalworker and machinist. Active in the Social Democratic Party, he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1913. He fought in World War I and rose to the rank of sergeant, commanding a platoon in a Croatian regiment before being captured in 1915 on the Russian Front.



Josip Broz, known as Tito, was the undisputed leader, and key political figure, in Yugoslavia between the end of World War II and his death in 1980. His death opened a major void in the country, leading ultimately to Yugoslavia's disintegration and a succession of bloody and destructive wars in the 1990s. (Library of Congress)

While a prisoner, Broz became fluent in Russian. Released following the February 1917 Revolution, he made his way to Petrograd, where he joined the Bolsheviks but was imprisoned until the Bolsheviks took power in October 1917. He fought on the communist side in the Russian Civil War, then returned to Croatia in 1920 and helped organize the Yugoslav Communist Party (YPJ). Rising rapidly in responsibility and position, he became a member of the YPJ Politburo and Central Committee. It was at this time that he took the pseudonym of "Tito" to conceal his identity. He was imprisoned from 1929 to 1934. In 1937 Joseph Stalin appointed Tito to head the YPJ as its secretary-general. Tito knew little of communist ideology, but Stalin was interested in loyalty.

Following the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, Tito took command of the communist Partisan resistance movement with the twin goals of fighting the Axis occupiers and then seizing power in Yugoslavia once the Allies had won. Tito and the Partisans did not hesitate to attack German garrisons, sparking retaliation and the execution of many more innocent hostages than Germans slain. Tito's Partisans became archrivals of the Serb-dominated Chetniks led by General Draza Mihajlovic, minister of war in the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London. The Chetniks eschewed the types of attacks undertaken by the Partisans, rightly fearing German reprisals. In a controversial decision that had far-reaching repercussions for the future of Yugoslavia, in 1943 the British government, which headed the Allied effort to assist the Yugoslav resistance, shifted all support to the Partisans.

By the end of the war, the Partisans had grown to a force of 800,000 and had effectively liberated most of Yugoslavia themselves, placing Tito in a strong bargaining position with Stalin. Tito attempted to annex the southern provinces of Austria, moving Yugoslav forces into Carinthia, but was prevented in this design by the timely arrival of the British V Corps and was convinced to quit Austrian territory in mid-May 1945.

Tito extracted vengeance on the Croats, many of whom had been loyal to the Axis, as had many Slovenes. Perhaps 100,000 people who had sided with the Axis occupiers were executed by the Partisans without trial within weeks of the war's end. The majority of German prisoners taken in the war also perished in the long "March of Hate" across Yugoslavia.

With the support of the Red Army, Tito formed the National Front and consolidated his power. Although superficially there appeared to be a coalition government in Yugoslavia, Tito dominated. In the November 1945 elections for a constituent assembly, the National Front headed by the Partisans won 96 percent of the vote. The assembly promptly deposed Peter II and proclaimed a republic. Yugoslavia's new constitution was modeled on that of the Soviet Union. Tito elaborated the twin ideals of national self-determination for Yugoslavia's nationalities and a strong, centralized Communist Party organization that would be the sole political expression of each national group's will. Under Tito, Yugoslavia became a federal republic, a beneficial change for a country that had suffered severely from rivalries among its various peoples. Tito also nationalized the economy and built it on the Soviet model.

Following the war, Tito had General Mihajlovic and some other leading Chetniks put on trial under trumped-up charges of collaboration with the

Germans. Despite vigorous Western protests, they were executed in July 1946. Equally destructive of European goodwill was the sentencing of Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac to life imprisonment for his anti-Communist role during the war.

For 35 years, Tito held Yugoslavia together by ruling as a despot. In a departure from his past record of sharing hardships with his men, once in power he developed a taste for a luxurious lifestyle. He muzzled dissent, but repression and fear of outside powers, chiefly the Soviet Union, solidified his rule.

In 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from the international communist movement. The break sprang in large part from Tito's desire to form under his leadership a Balkan confederation of Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria. There were also differences with Moscow over Yugoslav support for the communist side in the Greek civil war, as Moscow lived up to its bargain with Winston Churchill during the war not to contest British control in Greece.

The break with Moscow and fears of a Russian invasion led Tito to build up a large military establishment. In this he was assisted by the West, chiefly the United States. By the time of Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav standing army and reserves totaled 2 million men. To protect his freedom of movement, Tito also joined Yugoslavia to the Non-Aligned Movement, and in the 1960s he became a leader of this group along with Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Jawaharlal Nehru of India.

Before the break, Tito was as doctrinaire as Stalin. After the schism, Tito became more flexible. He allowed peasants to withdraw from cooperative farms and halted the compulsory delivery of crops. He decentralized industry by permitting the establishment of workers' councils with a say in running the factories. He permitted citizens more rights in the courts and limited freedom of speech, and he opened cultural ties with the West and released Archbishop Stepinac (although he was not restored to authority). In 1949 Tito even wrote an article in the influential American journal *Foreign Affairs* titled "Different Paths to Socialism," giving birth to polycentralism.

By 1954, however, reform had ended. Tito reacted sharply to Milovan Djilas's proposal to establish a more liberal socialist movement in the country, which would in effect turn Yugoslavia into a two-party state. Djilas's book, *The New Class* (1957), charged that a new class of bureaucrats exploited the masses as much as or more than their predecessors. Djilas was condemned to prison. Meanwhile, financial problems multiplied. By the end of the 1970s, inflation was surging, Yugoslavia's foreign debt was up dramatically, its goods could not

compete in the world marketplace, and there were dramatic economic differences between the prosperous North and impoverished South that threatened to break up the state.

As long as Tito lived, Yugoslavia held together. In 1974, Tito had set up a complicated collective leadership. The constitution of that year provided for an association of equals that helped to minimize the power of Serbia, diminish Yugoslavia's ethnic and religious hatreds and rivalries, and keep the lid on nationalism. There was a multiethnic, eight-man state presidency representing the six republics and two autonomous regions. Each of the six republics had virtual veto power over federal decision making. Djilas claimed that Tito deliberately set things up so that after his death, no one would ever possess as much power as he did.

Tito died in Ljubljana on May 4, 1980. In the early 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the end of the threat of Soviet invasion, and the discrediting of communism, the federal system that Tito had put together came apart in bloodshed and war.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also: Chetniks; Ustashe; Yugoslavia

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Tudjman, Franjo

Franjo Tudjman was the first president of Croatia (1990–1999), and the leader who proclaimed Croatia's independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. He was born in Veliko Trgovišće, a village in northern Croatia, on May 14, 1922. At the age of 19 he fought with the partisan forces of Josip Broz Tito against Yugoslavia's Nazi occupiers and became a communist. After the war he worked in Yugoslavia's Defense Ministry. In 1957 he attended the national military academy and advanced quickly to become a major general at the age of 36, the youngest in the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA). Ultimately disillusioned with Serb-dominated Yugoslav communism, however, he left the army in 1961 to take up historical studies, establishing the *Institut za historiju radničkoga pokreta Hrvatske*, or Institute for the History of the Labor Movement of Croatia, where he served as director until 1967. He was an associate professor of history at the University of Zagreb from 1963 to 1967, which rejected his PhD dissertation, *The Causes of the Crisis of the Monarchist Yugoslavia from Its Inception in 1918 to the Collapse in 1946*. In 1968, he submitted the same dissertation to the University of Zadar, which awarded him his degree.

In 1967 his ultranationalist expressions saw him dismissed from his teaching post at the University of Zagreb, and he was expelled from the League of Communists. In 1971 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for seeking a more autonomous status for Croatia within Yugoslavia, though he only served nine months—many said, on account of direct intervention from Tito, with whom he shared a friendship. Later, in 1981, a similar situation occurred; this time, he served only 11 months of a three-year sentence.

As a historian, Tudjman was known as one who could on occasion draw controversial conclusions—for example, attempting to disprove the idea that Croats had practised genocide against Serbs during World War II, or that the

murder of Serbs was not a policy of the wartime Ustashe fascist movement, but rather the action of a small number of fanatics. His most controversial work was *Wastelands of Historical Truth* (1989), in which he argued that history merely repeats itself. To illustrate his point, he wrote that Israel had attempted to reconquer the “promised land” by methods that were reminiscent of the Nazi Final Solution, employing genocidal practices that he described as “Judeo-nazism.” In this work he also asserted that 900,000, and not 6 million, Jews died in the Holocaust, a historical episode that was, in his view, greatly exaggerated.

In the aftermath of Tito’s death in 1980, Tudjman voiced his version of Croatian nationalism more and more openly, increasingly seeking to assert greater autonomy though stopping short at calling for outright independence. In 1989 he founded the ultranationalist Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*, or HDZ). The party secured nearly two-thirds of the seats in an election for the Croatian parliament in 1990, and Tudjman was elected president in a landslide victory.

By this time Tudjman had become convinced that Croatia should press for a complete break with Yugoslavia, and his style of nationalism proved popular to nationalistic Croats. His refusal to endorse the Serbs’ traditional place embedded within the Croat constitution, however, inflamed Serb opinion in Croatia. Many Serbs were subsequently purged from their jobs in the police, security forces, and the public sector generally. In August 1990, Serbs in Serb-majority districts loyal to Belgrade rose against Croatia, and with the support of the Yugoslav army they seized a third of the country and declared themselves to be the Republic of Serb Krajina.

By 1991 Tudjman was in the forefront of those advocating secession, as Croatia joined Slovenia in its call for an exit from the unitary Yugoslav state and declared its independence on June 25, 1991. A brutal and bloody war for Croatia’s independence broke out almost immediately. Fending off Serbian military efforts to thwart Croatian self-determination, Tudjman emerged as a national hero. A truce was arranged in January 1992, but hostilities spilled over into Bosnia from April 1992 onward, and Tudjman found himself involved, in one way or another, with the Balkan conflict until 1995.

Having won independence and now claiming a mandate, Tudjman then led Croatian forces into Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, in a quest to achieve the Greater Croatia that had been mapped out half a century earlier by the occupying Germans. This at first bought him into conflict with Slobodan Milosevic’s parallel ambitions for a Greater Serbia. Eventually, the two agreed to partition

Bosnia and expel the Muslims. The Dayton Agreement of November 21, 1995, and the Paris Protocol of December 14, 1995, blocked this dream.

After the ordeals of the Croatian War of Independence, Tudjman rebuilt and reequipped the Croatian army with American assistance, and in the summer of 1995 Croatian forces crossed the cease-fire line and recaptured the Krajina region. They drove out over 170,000 Krajina Serbs, mainly to the Serb regions of Bosnia or to Serbia, leading international observers to question whether Croatia under Tudjman was in fact practicing its own form of ethnic cleansing.

Throughout his tenure as president of independent Croatia, Tudjman tried to revive radical ethnic nationalism by frequent references to Croatia's Ustashe past during World War II, when that movement's blend of fascism and nationalism won Croatia independence under the patronage of Germany and Italy. Though he claimed not to be a fascist, many of his actions pertaining to national issues made him appear as one: in addition to his ethnonationalist ideas and policies, he also harbored a violent antisemitism. While he was still alive, Tudjman was never indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for war crimes, though documentary evidence uncovered later demonstrated his complicity in planning and authorizing ethnic cleansing against Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in Croat areas. Yet his popularity remained high among Croats, who not only recognized him as the Father of the Nation, but also reelected him twice, in 1992 and 1997. He remained in power until his death in 1999. Overall, he was in continuous office between May 30, 1990, and December 10, 1999.

Tudjman fell ill with cancer in 1993. He recovered, but his health declined further, and on December 10, 1999, he died in Zagreb from an internal hemorrhage. It has been suggested that, had he lived longer, he would possibly have been indicted on war crimes charges by the ICTY, and that there would have been sufficient evidence to convict him. This did not happen. Instead, Tudjman is credited as the leader who was successful in guiding Croatia to independence and a measure of respect among the new states of the 21st century.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Croatia; Croatian War of Independence; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Tito, Josip Broz; Ustashe; Yugoslavia

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Turajlic, Hakija

Prior to his assassination on January 8, 1993, Hakija Turajlic was the deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was born in 1936 in Capljina, in what was then Yugoslavia. Before the outbreak of the Bosnian War in April 1992 he had been an economist and businessman, directing Energoinvest, a joint-stock company established in 1951 specializing in engineering design, research and development, manufacturing, and the like. In this capacity he was able to raise and invest large amounts of money on behalf of the government, in the most part for defense purposes. He also successfully negotiated a number of international commercial contracts, enabling the company to achieve access to world markets.

As a politician, he was known to be a protégé of Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, and was well respected for his ability to undertake long sessions of hard work in a democratic and cooperative manner.

On January 8, 1993, as humanitarian supplies from Turkey were arriving at Sarajevo international airport, Turajlic decided it would be useful for him to go to the airport and officially welcome Turkish politician (and later secretary of state) Orhan Sefa Kilercioglu, who accompanied the shipment. Because the road between the capital and the airport came under frequent fire from Bosnian Serb shelling, it was considered too dangerous to allow the Turkish guest to come to the city, so Turajlic chose to do the traveling instead. He elected to travel to and from the airport in a convoy organized by the United Nations Protection Force, UNPROFOR.

With honors completed, and traveling with both Serb and UN guarantees of safe passage in order to return to Sarajevo, his convoy had to return through Serb-controlled territory. At checkpoint "Sierra 4," held by the Serbian military forces in Kasindolska Street near the Sarajevo airport, two Serbian tanks and 30 soldiers stopped the convoy. Against standing UN procedures, the French troops of the convoy, commanded by one Colonel Sartre, ignored their own orders and

instead obeyed those of the Serbs. After a 90-minute stand-off, the Serbs pulled Turajlic and five French peacekeepers out of the armored personnel carrier that was protecting him. Turajlic was shot seven times in the chest and head at point-blank range with an AK-47. He died at UN headquarters.

It has been alleged that the French troops of UNPROFOR did not return fire or call for reinforcements, which were less than 400 yards away at French battalion headquarters. When the French vehicle was first stopped, Colonel Sartre purportedly refused to call for help. British troops who arrived on the scene, it has been alleged, were ordered to leave. No French troops, who were supposed to provide protection for Turajlic, were injured during the exchange.

In accordance with Muslim tradition, Turajlic was buried the next day, at the Ali Pasha mosque next to the Bosnian presidency building in Sarajevo. About 300 people attended. There was no coffin for Turajlic's body. His remains were wrapped in a shroud and buried in one of many preprepared graves. As automatic gunfire from Serb snipers reverberated through the hills surrounding Sarajevo, his daughter threw the first soil into the grave.

The response to Turajlic's murder was one of universal condemnation and regret. On January 9, 1993, Alija Izetbegovic wrote that the Bosnian government was "horrified" by the murder, the more so as it happened "before the eyes of French soldiers." Bosnian vice president Ejup Ganic said before the funeral that he held UNPROFOR responsible for failing to protect Turajlic, while even the military commander of the Bosnian Serbs, General Ratko Mladic, said he regretted the shooting, promising an investigation and describing the murder as the work of "nervous" soldiers. At the United Nations, however, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali distanced his organization from the assassination, saying that Turajlic's murder was the work of a single Serb assailant "acting unilaterally" adding—remarkably—that the Bosnian authorities had not followed proper procedures and that the UNPROFOR troops did not know the identity of their passenger until the Serb gunmen stopped the vehicle and he was forced to show his papers.

The impact of the assassination led to fears that peace talks then under way in Geneva could disintegrate. There was speculation that the Bosnian government could withdraw as a result of Turajlic's murder; Izetbegovic reacted by saying that the UN-brokered discussions would be suspended in protest. Certainly, the killing strained relations between the Bosnian government and UNPROFOR, with the government expressing that it had little faith in UNPROFOR's ability to act impartially in the future. The French contingent, in

particular, was trusted much less in future operations between Sarajevo and UNPROFOR.

In a further outcome several years later, a former Bosnian Serb soldier, Goran Vasic, was charged with Turajlic's murder after being arrested in February 1998. On April 13, 2002, the Sarajevo Cantonal Court, acting under the auspices of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague, convicted him on two key charges: war crimes against the civilian population of Sarajevo in May 1992, including the illegal detention and expulsions of Bosniaks; and war crimes against a group of prisoners held at Nedzarici detention camp near Sarajevo in 1992, including forced labor and beatings. Vasic was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for war crimes, but was acquitted on the assassination charge due to a lack of evidence. The court noted that it had not been possible to obtain the bullets found in Turajlic's body for forensic examination, and the presiding judge regretted that the French UNPROFOR troops who were present at the scene had not appeared as witnesses. These shortcomings were enough to cast doubt over Vasic's alleged offense, and he was acquitted. The sentence was then reduced by the four years and six months which Vasic had already spent in custody awaiting trial.

In Turajlic's honor a street in the Dobrinja district of Sarajevo was later named, but a lasting memorial has also been created in the form of a boxing tournament, the Memorijal Hakija Turajlic, which has taken place in Sarajevo every year since 1994 in Turajlic's memory. Since its inception, more than 400 boxers from 30 countries around the world have participated in the tournament.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnia-Herzegovina; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Izetbegovic, Alija; United Nations Protection Force

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Tuzla

A city of approximately 100,000 people, dominating a wider municipal area nearly double that number, Tuzla is situated in the central zone of northeastern Bosnia. It is the third-largest urban area of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the site of a massacre on May 25, 1995, in which 72 people were killed by shelling from Bosnian Serb forces. May 25 was traditionally the Day of Youth in the former Yugoslavia, and it is noteworthy that almost all those killed were between 18 and 25 years of age. Nearly 250 were wounded, some very severely.



An aerial view of Tuzla East (known as “Camp Steel Castle”), the headquarters of U.S. peacekeeping troops in 1995 and 1996. A large city in Bosnia, Tuzla is regarded as one of the most multicultural cities in the country. During the Bosnian War, it became the site of a massacre in which most of the victims were young people aged between 18 and 25. (Department of Defense)

Tuzla had previously been designated as a United Nations (UN) safe area, though this did little to stop the Serbs in their assault on the city. After an impassioned address to the UN Security Council by the Mayor of Tuzla, Selim Beslagic, steps were taken by the United Nations Protection Force, UNPROFOR, to strengthen the defenses around Tuzla, though the city’s position was stretched to the limit as refugees from other UN-protected safe areas such as Srebrenica flooded in. Ultimately, Tuzla’s population swelled to nearly a quarter of a million. In the aftermath of the war, Tuzla began the process of reconstruction within the Muslim-Croat administered region of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and is now once more a prosperous city.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; United Nations Protection Force

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U

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom (UK) was a major diplomatic and military actor in the Yugoslav wars. British involvement may be considered from the point of view of its historical background, its international context, and its domestic political context.

Successive British governments reflect a long history of involvement in the Balkan region dating back to the late 19th-century “Eastern Question,” in which the primary consideration was the protection of communications between Britain and its empire in the East and vital economic interests such as the stabilization of energy supplies. Allied to Serbia in World War I and to those allied powers with the closest involvement in Yugoslavia in World War II, the British government developed very good relations with Yugoslavia after 1945. Consequently the UK approached the Yugoslav crisis of the 1990s with a positive commitment to the desirability of preserving Yugoslavia and with a tendency to define the nature of the state and its problems by previous wartime experiences.

When the collapse of Yugoslavia attracted international attention in 1991, the British Foreign Office was already deeply preoccupied with the implications for European security of the demise of Soviet hegemony in Eastern and Central Europe, and of German reunification in particular. In December 1991 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons began a series of hearings on the Yugoslav situation, and it is significant that committee members titled their report *Central and Eastern Europe: Problems of the Post-Communist Era*. The Yugoslav problem was set within a frame of the general problems of the redefinition of European security structures. The primary problem was the need for a new continent-wide security system, in relation to which the disturbances in the Balkans were seen as dependent and relatively peripheral.

Yugoslavia was nevertheless deemed to be important because, in a situation in which the general outlines of a new configuration of international relations were ill defined, British officials recognized that there was a real danger of localized conflicts within Yugoslavia “spilling over” into the entire Balkan region. In the early stages of the conflict, the central objective of British policy in the region might be termed “containment.” An important problem of the new

security pattern in the region concerned the relative roles of the United States and European powers. Since World War II a key component of British foreign policy, especially under Conservative administrations, had been support for the Atlantic alliance. The Yugoslav crisis coincided with a shift within Europe from the earlier concept of a common market toward a more ambitious understanding of regional institutions, including the possible development of a common foreign policy. The change was indicated at the time by the redefinition of the European Community as a European Union.

Although the UK was heavily committed to European institutions such as the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), there was still a measure of ambivalence in its policy as well as uncertainty about Europe's ability to handle the Yugoslav situation alone. Consequently, although British diplomats (Lord Carrington and Lord Owen) played vital roles as representatives of collective European involvement in the crisis, Britain has also been one of the leading supporters of an extension of responsibility to include the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and has been actively involved as one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Like all the principal international actors in Yugoslavia, British political figures tended to see the situation to some extent through a prism of domestic issues. U.S. perceptions of military involvement were clouded by the memory of the Vietnam War. German perceptions were influenced by issues of unification and the heavy criticism it had received for its lack of active involvement in the Persian Gulf War. British concerns about the Yugoslav problem were overshadowed by anxieties about devolution in Scotland and the conflict in Northern Ireland, where what had begun as an attempt to secure a temporary respite for politicians in 1968 turned into three decades of costly commitment for the British Army. This experience provided the basis for British insistence, as expressed by Lord Carrington, that "there is no point in having a peacekeeping force if there is no peace to keep." Military engagement made sense only within a context of clearly defined political objectives. Since a divided international community could not agree readily upon such objectives, UK leaders remained cautious about military involvement, though when such involvement was deemed necessary the British Army consistently provided a major contribution to the international effort. However, military intervention was always seen as subsidiary to the twin tracks of mediation and diplomacy.

The involvement of the UK in the Yugoslav crisis had both positive and negative aspects. The commitment to agreed-upon international action resulted

in a slowness to respond that critics have sometimes interpreted as obstructive. At the start of the crisis, however, no one understood how cumbersome the hitherto untested “unusual military activities” mechanism of the CSCE would prove to be. The understandable caution about military engagement resulted in widespread accusations that the UK was simply pro-Serb, but these critics failed to recognize the difference between British intentions and the unsought effects of policy.

The Foreign Office preference that “boundaries should not be disturbed save by agreement” has also been criticized as adherence to legalism in defiance of the realities on the ground. Nevertheless, British reluctance to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia because such recognition would lead to greater difficulties in resolving the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and related skepticism about the effectiveness of the Badinter Commission, turned out to be justified.

British officials were generally realistic in their assessment of the Macedonian problem, although, while understanding Greek concerns about irredentism, British utilitarianism failed to grasp the symbolic dimension of the issue.

The principled position of the UK with respect to the change of borders broke down once Yugoslavia had disintegrated irretrievably. At this point the UK government hovered unpredictably between support for self-determination (in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) and legalism (in Croatia and Kosovo); this indecisiveness again tended to fuel accusations of pro-Serb bias.

In general, far too much emphasis was placed upon the ethnic dimension of the conflict to the exclusion of other aspects of its causes—especially economic factors, which were never seriously considered. Even in the area of ethnicity, policy was clouded by oversimplified and mythological definitions of the situation, which resulted partly from the inability of policymakers in the Foreign Office to listen with sufficient patience to experts in their own research and analysis department.

In spite of early British reluctance to commit troops to the former Yugoslavia, once military forces were engaged, the British contribution was significant, effective, and consistently carried out. Of the maximum deployment of 17,000 troops in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) (1993), the British contingent reached 6,000, making it the largest national contribution. UNPROFOR II was headed by two British generals at different times, Sir Michael Rose and Sir Rupert Smith. In the Implementation/Stabilization Force

(I/SFOR) deployment of more than 60,000 troops, the UK provided the second-largest (after the United States) contingent, about 13,000. In spite of its problems, the British participation in the Rapid Reaction Force is regarded as marking an important development in NATO practice.

Marko Milivojevic and John B. Allcock

See also: Blair, Tony; European Union; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United Nations

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United Nations

The United Nations (UN) was one of the main organizational frameworks for the international community's efforts to contain and end the Yugoslav conflict. Under the UN Charter, the UN Security Council has primary responsibility for matters relating to "international peace and security." The Security Council quickly became a key forum for international deliberations on the Yugoslav conflict, providing authorization and legitimacy for most international actions. UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 713 of September 1991 imposed an arms embargo on the whole of the former Yugoslavia. UNSCRs 721 and 743 of November 1991 and February 1992 mandated the deployment of the peacekeeping force UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force) to UN protected areas (UNPAs) in the Krajina region of Croatia. UNSCR 757 of May 1992 imposed political and economic sanctions on Serbia. UNSCR 776 of September 1992 extended UNPROFOR's mandate to Bosnia-Herzegovina. UNSCR 781 of October 1992 established a no-fly zone in Bosnian airspace. UNSCRs 819 and 834 of April and May 1993 established Srebrenica, Tuzla, Gorazde, Bihac, Sarajevo, and Zepa as "safe areas." UNSCR 827 of May 1993 established the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. UNSCR 836 of June 1993 authorized UNPROFOR to protect the six safe areas. UNSCR 998 of June 1995 authorized the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force to reinforce UNPROFOR.

The UN was also heavily involved in many of the operational aspects of international efforts to manage the Yugoslav conflict. Alongside the European Community (EC), the UN jointly managed the International Conference on the

Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) from August 1992 until it was superseded by the Contact Group in 1994. Successive UN special representatives to the former Yugoslavia played a central role in international mediation efforts: Cyrus Vance from October 1991 to May 1993; Thorvald Stoltenberg from May to December 1993; Yasushi Akashi from December 1993 to October 1995; and Kofi Annan from October 1995. The UN also organized, commanded, and controlled key peacekeeping efforts: the UNPROFOR, UNPREDEP (UN Preventive Deployment), and UNTAES (UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia) forces. The UN secretary-general (Javier Perez de Cuellar until January 1992, then Boutros Boutros-Ghali until 1996) also played an important role in international mediation efforts and as ultimate commander of UN peacekeeping forces. Individual UN commanders also played an important role in shaping the responses of the UN peacekeeping forces to the conflict. Other UN agencies, such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), contributed to international efforts to ameliorate the suffering caused by the Yugoslav conflict.

The UN's role in the Yugoslav wars proved highly controversial. The inability of the UN to end the conflict, the repeated violation of UN Security Council resolutions by the various Yugoslav factions, and the inability of UN peacekeepers to prevent ongoing fighting starkly illustrated the limitations of the organization. This humiliation of the UN, especially its peacekeepers, was most brutally emphasized when the Bosnian Serbs overran the UN-designated safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa in July 1995. UN special envoy on human rights Tadeusz Mazowiecki resigned in protest at the organization's failure to protect the safe areas. Critics charged that the UN had utterly failed in the former Yugoslavia. Key officials of the UN, particularly Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali and Special Representative Akashi, were criticized for their reluctance to authorize the use of force (particularly air strikes) against the Bosnian Serbs and for their concern for the security of UN peacekeepers (as opposed to the victims of the Bosnian conflict). Although there may have been some validity to these criticisms, many people pointed out that the responsibility for the UN's failures in the former Yugoslavia lies at least as much—and probably much more—with the member states of the organization (especially the major powers). The permanent members of the UN Security Council repeatedly voted for Security Council resolutions that they did not have the will to enforce. Thus, they authorized the UN-designated safe areas but then failed to provide the military forces that the UN secretary-general argued were necessary to defend these

areas. Supporters of the UN's role in the former Yugoslavia argued that, for all its failures, the UN had at least helped to ameliorate or limit the human suffering caused by the conflict and that it could not have done much more unless its members were willing to commit greater resources to support its efforts.

The "failures" of the UN led to its gradual displacement as a central actor in the former Yugoslavia. In 1995, controversial "dual-key" arrangements between the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), requiring the approval of both organizations for the authorization of air strikes, were removed; this move allowed NATO to undertake air strikes without specific UN approval in each case. US-led diplomacy, NATO's sustained air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs in August–September 1995 (Operation DELIBERATE FORCE), and the Dayton Agreement of November 1995 established the United States and NATO as the key international actors. The Dayton Peace Agreement has been policed not by the UN, but rather by NATO's Implementation/Stabilization Force (I/SFOR). Nevertheless, the UN Security Council seems likely to remain an important framework for international discussions of the Yugoslav conflict, and various UN agencies are likely to have a continuing role in international efforts to build a lasting peace in the area.

Andrew S. Cottey

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; European Union; International Court of Justice; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Sarajevo, Siege of; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations Protection Force; Vance-Owen Peace Plan

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United Nations Protection Force

The conflicts that erupted in the former Yugoslavia beginning in 1991 presented United Nations (UN) peacekeepers with unparalleled challenges. As the military conflict intensified and spread from Slovenia and Croatia into Bosnia-Herzegovina, the humanitarian problems increased, manifested in the form of large numbers of refugees and displaced people, as well as extensive violations of human rights, particularly associated with "ethnic cleansing." The response of the UN took a number of forms.

In August 1992 the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) convened a special session on the human rights situation in the former Yugoslavia. The commission appointed a special rapporteur to investigate violations, and from March 1993 the Centre for Human Rights, the practical arm of the UNCHR, set up field offices in Zagreb and Skopje, as well as later in Sarajevo and Mostar.

In October 1992 the UN Security Council established a commission of experts to examine the evidence of grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. This move was followed in May 1993 by the decision to establish an International War Crimes Tribunal to prosecute those persons responsible for breaches of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia.

In the face of widespread violations of human rights, the number of refugees rose dramatically. Twelve funding appeals for humanitarian assistance were launched between 1991 and 1995 under the auspices of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The first appeal anticipated that 500,000 people would need help; by September 1995 it was estimated that humanitarian

assistance was needed for 3.5 million people, with a funding need of US\$823 million.

Provision was made in September 1992 for the establishment of a limited military force, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), with a mandate to intervene in support of the provision of humanitarian aid; this force was authorized to provide protection for UNHCR convoys.

Serious conflict in Yugoslavia first broke out in Croatia. It was initially regarded as an internal affair. The Security Council did not take any formal action on the Yugoslav crisis until September 1991, when it passed UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 713, imposing an embargo on the delivery of arms and other military equipment to the area. On November 9, 1991, the Yugoslav federal presidency asked the Security Council to consider the situation in Croatia and requested the deployment of UN troops to the area. UNPROFOR was established initially for one year and headquartered in Sarajevo, the capital of neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina; it was later moved to the Croatian capital, Zagreb. From March 1992 until April 1993, UNPROFOR was headed by its force commander. In May 1993 Thorvald Stoltenberg was appointed as special representative of the secretary-general for the former Yugoslavia and became the first civilian head of UNPROFOR. He was succeeded by Yasushi Akashi in January 1994. Between March 1992 and March 1995, there were five military officers who served as force commanders: Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar (of India) from March 1992 to March 1993; Lieutenant General Lars-Eric Wahlgren (of Sweden) from March 1993 to June 1993; Lieutenant General Jean Cot (of France) from June 1993 to March 1994; General Bertrand de Lapresle (of France) from March 1994 to March 1995; and General Bernard Janvier (of France), who took up the post from March 1995. UNPROFOR had three operational commands: UNPROFOR in Croatia (usually referred to as UNPROFOR I), with force commander Major General Eid Kamel Al-Rodan of Jordan in March 1995; UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina (usually referred to as UNPROFOR II), with force commander Lieutenant General Rupert Smith of the United Kingdom in March 1995; and UNPROFOR in the Republic of Macedonia (referred to as UNPROFOR III), with force commander Brigadier General Juha Engstrom of Finland in March 1995.

The estimated UN expenditure on the peacekeeping force in the former Yugoslavia between January 1992 and March 1996 was almost US\$4.7 billion. This figure includes the costs of UNPROFOR from February 1992 to March 1995, as well as the costs of the UN Confidence Restoration Operation

(UNCRO), the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), and UN Peace Forces Headquarters (UNPF-HQ). As of March 1995, total deployed force strength stood at 38,599 military personnel, including 684 military observers, with contingents from 39 different countries. The force also included 803 civilian police, 2,017 international civilian staff, and 2,615 local staff.

UNPROFOR was the largest and most expensive peacekeeping mission ever deployed by the UN. By 1994, because of experiences in the former Yugoslavia, as well as in Somalia and Rwanda, peacekeeping was the most controversial activity in which the UN was involved. A series of criticisms was made. Some accounts argued that the whole peacekeeping intervention in Bosnia especially was misconstrued and that not only was the peacekeeping force ineffective but more seriously that it made matters worse. The criticism is partly directed against third-party intervention in civil war in general, on the grounds that such interventions cannot be impartial and that their effect is simply to prolong the conflict and thereby, possibly, the suffering. From this kind of argument flows the idea that peacekeeping is an inadequate tool for intervention in active civil wars and that its use should be limited to those conflicts that have been terminated. In these circumstances, where a primarily monitoring presence—based on consent—is required, the tested principles of classical peacekeeping can be applied. The alternative argument is that peacekeeping forces in former Yugoslavia were inadequately equipped to carry out the demanding mandates that they were given. Consequently, peacekeeping should not be scaled back but significantly strengthened in order to secure the humanitarian and political objectives that it has acquired, in addition to its military roles. Thus, the need for new doctrines and concepts of peacekeeping has been argued, embodied in terms such as “peace support operations” and “second-generation peacekeeping.”

UNPROFOR I (Croatia)

In November 1991 a cease-fire agreement was reached among Croats and Serbs that included a proposal for a peacekeeping operation. UNPROFOR was eventually established under UNSCR 743 of February 21, 1992. The plan initially called for the deployment of 13,000 troops (12 battalions), civilian personnel, and civilian police. Its main function was to stabilize the situation in Croatia, creating conditions of peace and security within which negotiations for an overall solution could take place. By March 23, 1992, advanced deployments of infantry were under way. UNPROFOR was deployed into four sectors within three United Nations protected areas (UNPAs): Sector North and Sector South

covered the Krajina region of Croatia, while Sector West was in western Slavonia and Sector East in eastern Slavonia on the border of the Serb region of the Vojvodina. These UNPAs were areas in Croatia occupied by armed Serb militias, where fighting had been most intense and where there were large proportions of Serbs in the civilian populations.

Within each UNPA the UN force was mandated to stabilize the situation (including the maintenance of “interim” existing arrangements for local administration and public order), demilitarize or effect the withdrawal of armed forces, protect the local population, authorize traffic in and out of the UNPAs, monitor local police forces, and assist in the voluntary return of displaced persons and refugees.

The full deployment of UNPROFOR was delayed by several months, and the force was not fully operational until late June 1992. The late arrival of some elements of UNPROFOR was due to financial wrangling in New York as well as complications created by the outbreak of war in Bosnia. One result of this delay was that “ethnic cleansing” continued virtually unchecked, so that by the time UNPROFOR was operational, most of the area’s non-Serb population had already been expelled from the UNPAs. Although UNPROFOR battalions reported continued violations of the cease-fire and were often restricted in their freedom of movement, they did manage to set up regular patrols, checkpoints, and observation posts, and they began the crucial process of establishing liaison networks.

UN military observers (UNMOs) reported that although elements of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) were withdrawing from the UNPAs, as called for in the cease-fire agreement, they were leaving behind arms and equipment for local Serb militias. This problem became significantly worse when, on April 27, 1992, Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). In an attempt to establish its credentials and to counter mounting international pressure, the FRY announced the withdrawal of all Serbs and Montenegrins who were serving in the JNA in other republics. This move stranded large numbers of well-armed troops in both Croatia and Bosnia and led to an influx of soldiers into existing militias. In Croatia this meant that UNPROFOR was faced with a far more militarized situation than had been anticipated and would now be responsible for demobilizing a much larger number of militiamen.

During this initial period of UN activity, another unexpected problem arose that would do much to undermine the effectiveness of the operation in Croatia

and to increase the complexity of the task. Areas adjacent to the UNPAs (later called pink zones) were held by the JNA but did not come under the UN's mandate (which was restricted to the UNPAs) or the cease-fire agreement. UNPROFOR again found itself in a position of having to mediate in a tense and difficult situation.

The increasing complexity of the situation meant that UNPROFOR's mandate was constantly expanding as experience on the ground brought to light further complexities in implementing the original mandate. UNPROFOR became involved in interviewing individuals who had been forced from their homes, organizing patrols to protect such homes, and compiling data on those groups believed to be responsible for the expulsions. Based on a laboriously negotiated agreement over the pink zones, UNPROFOR began monitoring both the withdrawal of the JNA and the activities of local police. UNPROFOR's tasks were enlarged again when the force was authorized to carry out immigration and customs functions at the international borders of the UNPAs. The mandate of UNPROFOR was further extended in October 1992 when the force was given the responsibility of monitoring the demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula.

At the beginning of 1993, growing frustration on the part of the Croatian government, particularly over the pink zones but also over the return of displaced persons to the UNPAs, led to a major offensive by the Croatian Army (HV) in the southern part of the Krajina (Sector South). A cease-fire agreement based on an earlier Security Council resolution was signed on April 6, 1993. The agreement called for the end of hostilities and the withdrawal of the HV to positions held prior to the incursion of January 22. Over the following nine months, there were two more major offensives by the HV, and the situation in the pink zones and the UNPAs continued to deteriorate. UNPROFOR continued its efforts to mediate between the two sides and to carry out its mandate.

Violations of negotiated cease-fires continued through 1994 and 1995, and in March 1995 the UN secretary-general recognized that it would not be possible to keep UNPROFOR in its present role because of objections by the Croatian government. However, it was also clear that the withdrawal of UNPROFOR from Croatia might have led the war there to escalate; further, the operation in Bosnia could not have been properly supported without the UN support facilities in Zagreb. These concerns were the basis for the restructuring of UNPROFOR at the end of March 1995.

On March 31, 1995, the Security Council decided to replace UNPROFOR with three separate peacekeeping operations: in Bosnia-Herzegovina the

mandate and name of UNPROFOR was retained; in Croatia UNPROFOR was replaced by the UN Confidence Restoration Operation; and within Macedonia UNPROFOR III was renamed the UN Preventive Deployment Force. The joint headquarters, based in Zagreb, became known as the United Nations Peace Forces headquarters. Each component was headed by a civilian chief of mission and a military force commander.

UNPROFOR II (Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Over the months following the deployment of peacekeepers in Croatia, the attention of the Security Council and the international media shifted from Croatia toward the troubles of Sarajevo and Bosnia. In response to international pressure and the obvious threat to regional peace and security posed by the conflict, the Security Council progressively stretched UNPROFOR's mandate, which was originally confined to certain areas of Croatia, to include Sarajevo and eventually to include a large-scale humanitarian relief effort throughout Bosnia. Continued fighting, as well as reports of ethnic cleansing and other atrocities in Bosnia, led the Security Council to pass Resolution 757 on May 30, 1992, under the enforcement provisions of Chapter VII of the UN's charter (the peacekeeping force in Croatia was not authorized under enforcement provisions). The UN imposed economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and demanded that a security zone be formed around the Sarajevo airport. At the same time, the council began considering a report from Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that detailed possible alternatives for the protection of humanitarian aid convoys. The concern was that the use of force could compromise not only the peacekeeping operation but also the position of relief agencies operating in the area. Moreover, setting clear and attainable political aims for such enforcement was considered virtually impossible. Boutros-Ghali suggested that negotiating agreements for the transport and delivery of aid would be the preferable option and recommended a more limited operation focused on opening Sarajevo's airport to relief flights.

Foreshadowing what later would evolve into UNPROFOR II, UNPROFOR's mandate was extended on June 8, 1992, under UNSCR 758. The Security Council voted to deploy military observers in Sarajevo to supervise the withdrawal of heavy weapons from the city and the surrounding area. This was considered the necessary first step in a process that would eventually see the UN take over control of the Sarajevo airport and secure it for the delivery of humanitarian aid. Progress toward implementation of the new mandate was

slow, largely owing to lack of cooperation from the parties and the fragility of the cease-fire. Nevertheless, after tough negotiations, the UN took control of the Sarajevo airport from the Serb militias, whereupon the Security Council passed a resolution authorizing the deployment of more peacekeepers to the area. Despite the arrival of more troops in Sarajevo, the war and the humanitarian crisis continued unabated.

The European peace efforts under Lord Peter Carrington were characterized by a series of brokered and then broken cease-fire agreements, and his tenure as the European Community's main negotiator ended amid some controversy. In the middle of off-and-on peace talks, Carrington negotiated an agreement with the Bosnian factions that called for supervision of heavy weaponry in and around Sarajevo by UN forces. The Security Council quickly agreed to the plan. Boutros-Ghali complained, however, that the new mandate was not only close to impossible to carry out but had been "thrust" upon UNPROFOR without adequate consultation and without financial and other material commitments. He argued that the UN was already desperately overstretched and needed to pay more attention to crises elsewhere in the world. Eventually the dispute was resolved, but it had contributed to a growing feeling in the European Community and elsewhere that an internationalization of peacemaking efforts and a new negotiating framework were necessary; this feeling led to the establishment of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) based in Geneva.

Between March and July 1992, the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia had worsened considerably. Reports of atrocities in detention camps and widespread ethnic cleansing led to an even greater stream of refugees seeking to escape the war. The work of the international aid agencies became increasingly difficult and dangerous. In one case a UNHCR convoy had to negotiate its way through 90 roadblocks between Zagreb and Sarajevo, many of them manned by undisciplined militias. In view of these difficulties, on May 12, following a report by Under-Secretary-General Marrack Golding, Boutros-Ghali argued in a recommendation to the UN Security Council that Bosnia "in its present phase was not susceptible to the United Nations peacekeeping treatment." An attack on a UN aid convoy heading for the besieged town of Gorazde at the end of July 1992, however, shifted international opinion toward taking more concerted action in Bosnia. The stalemated peacemaking process served to fan the flames of increasingly adamant demands for enforcement.

Under growing international pressure, the Security Council adopted two resolutions on August 13, 1992, under the enforcement provisions of Chapter

VII of the UN's charter. The first resolution (UNSCR 770) called upon all states to take "all measures necessary" to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia. It further stated that all detention camps in the former Yugoslavia must be immediately opened for international inspection. A second resolution (UNSCR 771) demanded unimpeded and continued access to all camps, prisons, and detention centers within the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

International response was sluggish, however, even after an Italian transport plane bringing humanitarian supplies into Sarajevo was shot down on September 3, 1992, killing the four crew members. It was not until September 10 that the Secretariat presented its report on a "concept of operations" for Bosnia based on UNSCR 770. The proposal suggested that UNPROFOR's mandate be extended and the military personnel sent to fulfill UNSCR 770 under the overall direction of the force commander. The Bosnia Command, headquartered just outside Sarajevo in Kiseljak, was subsequently responsible for Sector Sarajevo and four new zones, each with an infantry battalion. Each battalion was responsible for providing protective support to UNHCR-organized convoys inside its own zone.

The Security Council approved the plan on September 14, 1992. Although the operation was authorized under Chapter VII of the UN's charter, it did not (through to the end of 1993) use force to carry out its mandate. In this situation, peacekeepers were expected to negotiate local agreements and talk their way through the roadblocks that dotted the Bosnian countryside. Eight European countries agreed to contribute to and pay for the new force. By early November 1992, UNPROFOR II comprised 7,000 troops from eight European countries plus an infantry battalion from Canada and a field hospital from the United States. However, the full deployment of peacekeepers was hampered by lack of cooperation from the warring parties and the need to negotiate locally the specific terms of their deployment.

At the beginning of October 1992, the Security Council passed yet another extension of UNPROFOR's mandate. It authorized the imposition of a ban on military flights in Bosnian airspace and authorized the UNPROFOR to monitor compliance with this resolution (UNSCR 781). The ban lacked the power of enforcement, and by December 1992 the United States confirmed that Serbian planes had flown more than 200 unauthorized flights; by April 1993 the number of flight violations had risen to 500. The UN finally authorized the shooting down of unauthorized aircraft in the no-fly zone. This order was interpreted as a measure of "last resort" and had little impact on the situation.

From the beginning of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muslims were slowly forced back into enclaves and both the UN and the aid agencies were regularly denied access to these areas. In one of the worst cases, in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica, no aid convoys had been allowed through for months. The crisis prompted the Security Council on April 16, 1993, to declare Srebrenica a “safe area” and demand access to the town (UNSCR 819). Canadian troops were allowed into the town two days later, but they were then subject to the same siege, and Serb forces refused to allow either convoys or troop supplies and reinforcements through.

On May 6, 1993, the Security Council voted to add Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, and Bihac to the list of safe areas. Continued noncompliance by Serb militias led the Security Council to pass a resolution under Chapter VII to “ensure full respect for the safe areas” (UNSCRs 824 and 836). The secretary-general, responding to the request of the Security Council, presented a report detailing the new requirements for troop reinforcements and redeployments based on the new mandate. The report suggested that a troop level of 34,000 would be needed to ensure “deterrence through strength” but that the mandate could be implemented, at least initially, with 7,600 new peacekeepers. In establishing and securing the safe areas, UNPROFOR II was given the task of deterring attacks, monitoring a cease-fire, occupying key points in and around the safe areas, and protecting the delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief. In the end the safe areas mandate was not enforced, and by December 1993 only a few thousand troops had arrived—far short of the minimum level needed to do the job. By the end of July 1993, the “safe areas” were so unsafe that a UN special rapporteur on human rights reported that Gorazde had been bombarded by Bosnian Serb militia artillery for 18 consecutive days in June, leaving half of the city’s houses destroyed. To complicate matters further, in May 1993 intense fighting broke out between Bosnian Croat forces and the Bosnian army in southern and central Bosnia.

Peacekeepers were increasingly targeted by Bosnian factions, particularly Serb paramilitary groups. By the end of 1993, the ICFY was no closer to reaching agreement in either Croatia or Bosnia, where, according to UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg, 69 separate cease-fires had been negotiated and broken.

On February 5, 1994, 69 civilians were killed and nearly 200 injured when the central market in Sarajevo was shelled. In response, the secretary-general requested that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) be authorized to

conduct airstrikes against artillery or mortar positions around Sarajevo that might be responsible for attacks on civilians. A “weapons exclusion zone” of 20 kilometers from the center of Sarajevo was declared, enforced by NATO and monitored by UNPROFOR. However, by the end of March 1994 Bosnian Serb forces launched an attack against the safe area of Gorazde, involving indiscriminate shelling of the city and outlying villages. On April 22, following a request from the secretary-general, NATO declared a military exclusion zone around Gorazde and threatened airstrikes against Bosnian Serbs if they did not withdraw before the deadline of April 20. Similar zones were declared around the other four safe areas. However, the conflict escalated again in the summer and autumn of 1994 when Sarajevo was repeatedly attacked by snipers, and UNPROFOR called in NATO warplanes to attack Bosnian Serb positions violating the exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

A cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina negotiated by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, which had come into force on January 1, 1995, failed to last, with violations committed by both Bosnian Serb and Bosnian government forces. Following a military agreement on February 20 between Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, combined Serb forces tightened their blockade of the Bihac enclave in northwestern Bosnia, one of the UN-designated safe areas. Early in March 1995, the governments of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina concluded a military alliance, and Bosnian government forces started successful offensives against Serb positions on Mount Vlasic near Travnik in central Bosnia, as well as north and east of Tuzla.

Serb forces resumed heavy shelling of Sarajevo in April 1995, and an assault by Bosnian government forces in May aimed at breaking the siege of Sarajevo failed after heavy losses. Late in May, the UNPROFOR force commander in Bosnia, Lieutenant General Rupert Smith, issued an ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs and to the Bosnian government to withdraw their heavy weapons from a 32-kilometer exclusion zone around Sarajevo. The next day Smith ordered bombing raids by NATO aircraft against Serb weapons stores near their headquarters at Pale, whereupon in retaliation the Serbs initiated hostage taking of over 300 UN soldiers. The last of the hostages were all released by June 18 following mediation by President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia.

With mounting pressure for more decisive and forceful action against Serb attacks, in early June 1995 defense ministers from NATO and other countries decided to create a 14,000-strong Rapid Reaction Force consisting of British, French, and Dutch troops to support UN units and to protect the remaining safe

areas. However, the Serbs captured the safe area of Srebrenica in July, having previously disarmed the Dutch battalion stationed there. The safe area of Zepa fell to the Serbs in the same month.

In August 1995, Serb forces suffered a series of military defeats at the hands of Croatian and Bosnian government forces in western and central Bosnia, losing a significant amount of territory. Most significantly, the U.S. government began to pressure parties to the conflict in Bosnia to agree to peace talks and on October 5 secured a general cease-fire agreement. On November 1, 1995, under the auspices of the U.S. government, negotiations began in Dayton, Ohio, that were to end the conflict in Bosnia. UNPROFOR ceased to exist on December 20, 1995, when authority was transferred to the Implementation Force.

Oliver P. Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse

See also: Bosnian Safe Areas; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Rose, Michael; Sarajevo, Siege of; Smith, Rupert; Srebrenica Massacre; Srebrenica, Dutch Peacekeepers; Turajlic, Hakija; Vukovar

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United States of America

The United States of America did not play a major role in the early years of the Yugoslav conflict, but from 1994 it gradually came to feature in international efforts to end the conflict.

During 1990–1991, the George H. W. Bush administration's attention was focused on a number of other major international issues: President Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, the process of German reunification, the Persian Gulf War, and the Soviet coup attempt with subsequent disintegration of the Soviet Union. Having been a supporter of Yugoslavia (against the Soviet Union) during the Cold War and fearing the precedent that the breakup of Yugoslavia might set for the Soviet Union, the United States supported the maintenance of the Yugoslav federation. In June 1991 Secretary of State James Baker made the United States' continued support for Yugoslavia clear in a speech in Belgrade. Many analysts suggest that this effectively gave a "green light" for Serbia to attack Croatia the following week. Seeking to reduce its Cold War commitment to Europe, the Bush administration then encouraged the European Community (EC) to take the lead in diplomatic efforts to end the conflict and signaled that it would not deploy ground forces for any peacekeeping or peace enforcement operation. This relative disengagement from the conflict formed the basis of U.S. policy for the next two years.



United States troops on patrol near Tuzla in March 2001. The role of the United States during the Bosnian War was mixed. Beginning slowly, it built momentum over time, though never sufficiently to play a major part in bringing about peace until NATO forced its hand during the summer of 1995. (AP Photo/Amel Emric)

Within the United States, however, criticism gradually emerged of both the George H. W. Bush administration and European efforts to end the conflict. Within the U.S. Congress, there was little support for the deployment of U.S. ground forces to the former Yugoslavia. There was support, however, for the use of U.S. airpower against the Bosnian Serbs and for the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims (in order for the latter to defend themselves). Candidate Bill Clinton also criticized the Bush administration for its policy toward the Yugoslav conflict in the 1992 U.S. presidential elections. When the Clinton administration came to power in 1993, it undertook a major review of policy toward the Yugoslav conflict, committing itself to a more active role and to a policy of “lift and strike” (i.e., lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims and supporting them with airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs). In May 1993 U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher toured European capitals seeking support for this new policy. The United States’ European allies (particularly Britain and France, the largest contributors to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) rejected the U.S. policy. They argued that air

strikes would make their troops on the ground targets of retaliation, that lifting the arms embargo would only intensify the bloodshed, and that the United States should also provide ground forces. The dispute created real bitterness between the United States and its European allies and seriously undermined the unity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Despite the apparent defeat of its proposed lift-and-strike policy, the United States gradually began to play a greater diplomatic and military role in the former Yugoslavia. In March 1994, U.S.-led diplomacy resulted in the establishment within Bosnia-Herzegovina of the Muslim-Croat Federation, itself to be confederated with Croatia. In the spring of 1994, the Contact Group (the United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and Germany) replaced the joint EC-UN International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) as the main diplomatic forum for the Yugoslav conflict. From this point on, the United States began to play a greater role in international diplomacy toward the conflict, shaping the Contact Group's proposals. As discussions emerged on the possible withdrawal of UNPROFOR, the United States agreed for the first time that it would be willing to deploy ground forces in the former Yugoslavia in a possible NATO-led operation to evacuate European forces. The United States also deployed 300 ground troops as part of the UNPREDEP peacekeeping force in Macedonia.

There remained strong support within the United States for the ideas underlying the proposed policy of lift and strike. In November 1994, the U.S. Congress voted to forbid U.S. participation in enforcing the arms embargo (although this was a largely symbolic step, since the U.S. government did not actually start supplying arms). From 1994 on, the Clinton administration "turned a blind eye" to (and perhaps actively encouraged) the building up of the military strength of Croatia and the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation, enabling the latter forces in summer and autumn 1995 to reverse earlier Bosnian Serb military advances. Fears for the unity of NATO, the risk of a chaotic withdrawal of UNPROFOR (with U.S. forces involved), and the massacre in Srebrenica in July 1995 prompted more active U.S. engagement. The deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force to support UNPROFOR, as well as the withdrawal of peacekeepers from vulnerable positions, paved the way for the NATO-led airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs in August–September 1995, in which the United States played a central military role. U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke emerged as a central actor at this point, brokering what were to become the Dayton Accords. In essence, the Dayton Agreement was a U.S.-designed

agreement, reflecting the extent to which the United States had now come to play the central diplomatic and military role in the international response to the Yugoslav conflict.

Further, under the Dayton Agreement, the United States agreed for the first time to deploy ground forces in Bosnia, providing 20,000 of the 60,000 troops in NATO's Implementation Force (IFOR). The U.S. Congress, however, remained wary of any long-term commitment of forces to Bosnia. Thus, IFOR's initial mandate was for one year only (to the end of 1996). Toward the end of 1996, the United States agreed to an extension of the mandate of IFOR (now renamed the Stabilization Force, or SFOR) to mid-1998, including a continued U.S. commitment. Early in 1998, the United States agreed to a further (and this time largely open-ended) extension of SFOR's mandate, again including a large U.S. component. The United States also continued to play an important diplomatic role in the Bosnian peace process, in bringing pressure to bear on the Serbian and Croatian governments, and in international efforts to prevent conflict in Kosovo and Macedonia. There remained, however, doubts about the extent of U.S. domestic support (especially in Congress) for a long-term military commitment to support peace in the former Yugoslavia.

Andrew S. Cottey

See also: Bosniaks; Clinton, Bill; Dayton Peace Accords; Holbrooke, Richard; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations; Vance-Owen Peace Plan

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Ustashe

Ustashe (literally, “rebels”) was an extreme right-wing Croat nationalist movement that fought for the secession of Croatia from Yugoslavia prior to and during World War II. Following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the Croat nationalists were disappointed to see their dreams of an independent Croatia crushed with the establishment of a new multiethnic state, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Croat radical nationalism eventually expressed itself in the creation of the Ustashe, which employed terrorist means in order to achieve its nationalist ambitions of an independent state.

The start of World War II provided the Ustashe with an opportunity to try to establish an independent Croatia. In 1941, the Ustashe came to power with the support of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy and formed a fascist puppet state in Croatia. Governed by Ante Pavelic, Croatia incorporated Bosnia and Herzegovina and had a significant Serb population. The Ustashe pursued a policy of ethnic cleansing against Jews, Roma, Muslims, and Serbs in territories under its control. It established a network of concentration camps, the largest of which was Jasenovac (about 60 miles south of the Croatian capital of Zagreb) that became as notorious in the Balkans as Auschwitz was in Nazi-occupied Poland. Implemented with merciless brutality, the Ustashe's extermination policies were responsible for the deaths of more than 500,000 Serbs, 20,000 Roma, most of the country's Jews, and untold thousands of political opponents. Well over 150,000 Serbs fled or were deported from Croatia, and as many as 200,000 Orthodox Christian Serbs were forced, often at gunpoint, to convert to Roman Catholicism.

Yugoslavian resistance to the Germans and their supporters, the Croatian Ustashe and Serbian general Milan Nedic's government, centered on two

factions. Colonel Dragoljub “Draza” Mihajlovic, who strongly supported restoration of the monarchy, set up the Chetniks (named for Serb guerrillas who had fought the Turks) while Josip Broz Tito, leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party since 1937, headed the second resistance group, the Partisans, which were particularly active in Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia. After failing to develop a cooperative approach against the Germans and Ustashe, Tito and Mihajlovic turned against each other. Ultimately, the Partisans gained an upper hand and by the end of the war, their numbers swelled to over half a million men and women.

After the war, Tito’s Partisans exacted vengeance on their opponents, including the Ustashe and Chetniks. Within weeks of the war’s end, the Partisans had executed, without trial, scores of thousands of people who had sided with the Germans, most of them Croats. However, many of the Ustashe leaders were able to flee to safety in South America. Ante Pavelic himself fled to Argentina, where he reorganized the Ustashe in exile. He was, however, wounded in an assassination attempt in Madrid in 1957 and died two years later from his injuries.

Alexander Mikaberidze

See also: Croatia; Tito, Josip Broz; Tudjman, Franjo

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V

Vance-Owen Peace Plan

The Vance-Owen peace plan was devised by Cyrus Vance, the United Nations (UN) peace envoy, and Lord David Owen, the European Union (EU) mediator. It was presented in January 1993, some nine months after the start of the conflict in Bosnia. The plan was guided by a desire to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multiethnic unitary state by formalizing the internal distribution of territories on the basis of ethnicity with regard to both the geographical and the historical contexts.

This goal was to be achieved by instituting 10 provinces (usually referred to as “cantons”), each with substantially devolved powers. This geographical solution could hardly be described as neat, given the historically diverse and intermingled distribution of the three communities: Serb, Croat, and Muslim. Three of these provinces were to be mainly Muslim, three mainly Serb, and two mainly Croat; in the center-west it proved difficult to characterize the proposed 10th province as other than mixed Muslim-Croat, and in the case of Sarajevo itself (province 7) all three of the ethnic groups were to share power. Sarajevo was also to be the seat of a weakened central government for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Of the parties to be convinced, only the Croats could accept the cartography with readiness, as it offered them scarcely less than their highest expectation. The mainly Muslim Bosnian government could not support a diminution of their central powers, nor what in their eyes involved ethnic manipulation, but they eventually accepted it under international pressure in their expectation that the Serbs would not agree to it in any case. This left the Serbian government in Belgrade to be persuaded to put pressure upon the Bosnian Serbs to accept. Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic was himself under pressure from a new round of proposed international economic sanctions, but he was prepared to put the plan to the Bosnian Serbs in return for certain clarifying assurances. These assurances related to (1) the potentially Croat-controlled Posavina Corridor that linked the Serbs of Banja Luka and the northwest with Serbia “proper,” (2) the control of territories already taken and “Serbianized” by the Bosnian Serbs but that would now be returned to Croat/Muslim administration, and (3) the question

of whether the collective presidency proposed under the Vance-Owen plan would operate on the basis of majority voting or consensus. Having been assured of the role of the UN forces in relation to the first two points and of the principle of consensus (which could effectively imply a veto) in relation to the last, Milosevic felt able to sell the plan to the Bosnian Serbs as one that they could manipulate toward the formation of a unified Serb state on Bosnian territory. After protracted pressure, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic was persuaded, in an environment of ultimatum at Athens on May 2, 1993, to agree to the plan, on the proviso that it be ratified by the Bosnian Serb parliament in Pale.

This was the closest that the Vance-Owen plan came to fruition. Cyrus Vance himself felt able at this point to effect his previous indication that he would retire, and David Owen affirmed his faith in Milosevic to prevail at Pale; in fact, however, the Bosnian Serb Parliament voted by almost 5 to 1 in favor of a referendum, and the plan was effectively dead, as a referendum would undoubtedly have resulted in the plan's rejection.

Owen himself was later to complain of the change in, and lack of, support that he received from the new administration of the United States. The Vance-Owen plan had been well intended in the context of a search for a multiethnic solution, but the price of failure was bound to be high in leaving a potentially worse situation than had previously been in place; the plan had now firmly implanted on all sides the notion of territoriality and preemptive gain. Furthermore, if only temporarily, it reopened the conflict between Croats and Muslims and undermined the influence that the Belgrade government had hitherto held over the Bosnian Serbs. A plan designed for peace had (unintentionally) escalated the war.

John J. Horton

See also: Bosnian War; Dayton Peace Accords; European Union; Owen, David; United Kingdom; United States of America

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Visegrad

A town in eastern Bosnia located on the Drina River, Visegrad was one of the first major locations to be severely attacked by Bosnian Serb forces during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. The Muslim population of the town, numbering about 14,000, was systematically assaulted by Serbian militia groups with the intention of forcing their removal. Principal among these was a unit known as the White Eagles, commanded by Milan Lukic. The allegation is that the White Eagles engaged in such acts against the Muslim population as imprisonment, torture, rape, mutilation, forced labor, deportation, and mass murder. These acts took place in the spring and summer of 1992, and thus constitute one of the earliest examples of what came to be known as “ethnic cleansing.”

It took a long time before the full story of the fate of Visegrad became known to the wider world, owing to the extent and unexpected nature of the destruction. Correspondents were taken by surprise by what happened, and the closure of the city by the conquering Serb authorities made news extremely difficult to gather. It was only after a long period of research in 1996 that British *Guardian* journalist Ed Vulliamy was able to expose the story of what happened at Visegrad to a wider Western audience. By this stage, however, later atrocities in 1995, at places like Gorazde and Srebrenica, accompanied by a general war weariness, had forced an early atrocity like Visegrad into the background of Western consciousness: a casualty of the accumulation of war crimes and crimes against humanity over the course of the Bosnian War.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Bosnian War; Lukic, Milan; Vulliamy, Ed

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Vukovar

Vukovar is a city located in eastern Croatia at the confluence of the Vuka and Danube rivers. During the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, Vukovar was besieged and virtually destroyed by the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA), aided by various Croatian Serb militias. Vukovar's population in 1991 was approximately 47,500. Of that population, 47.2 percent were Croats, and 32.3 percent were Serbs.

The siege and battle of Vukovar began in earnest on August 25, 1991, and ended on November 18, 1991. JNA forces subjected the city to near-constant aerial bombardment and artillery shelling. JNA forces numbered about 36,000, while Vukovar's defenders, mainly the lightly armed Croatian National Guard, numbered only 1,800–2,000 personnel. Despite being poorly armed and greatly outnumbered, however, the defenders put up a heroic fight, lasting 87 days before finally capitulating.

The fighting and bombardment forced at least 32,000 people, mostly Croats, out of the city. A sizable number were herded into JNA concentration camps, where many were abused and/or killed. Others were killed in air and artillery raids or were executed by Serb militiamen and JNA troops within the city. The goal of the JNA was to ethnically cleanse the city of Croats, which it largely accomplished. By October 1991, the city's population had plummeted to just 15,000. The fighting at Vukovar completely destroyed large parts of the city, and it was the scene of the worst devastation among all the Yugoslav Wars fought between 1991 and 1999.

On the last day of the fighting, about 400 refugees, including the sick and wounded, who had taken refuge in a hospital in Vukovar, surrendered to the Serbs. Expecting to be evacuated to safety, most were transported to an

abandoned pig farm outside Vukovar, where they were systematically massacred on November 20–21. It is believed that some 250 people died there. In all, at least 2,000 civilians and Croat defenders died during the siege of Vukovar; another 800 were declared missing and presumed dead. Some 32,000, mostly non-Serbs, had been displaced and rendered refugees. Mass graves are still being found in Vukovar and its surrounding areas, attesting to the grim events in 1991.

As a consequence of the December 1995 Dayton Agreement, Vukovar was placed under a United Nations administrative mandate, and in 1998 it became part of Croatia. In recent times the city's population has grown to about 28,000, of whom 57.4 percent are Croats and 34.9 percent are Serbs. Not surprisingly, a deep ethnic chasm continues to exist between Vukovar's Croatian and Serbian populations. The city has been very slow to recover, and much of the destroyed infrastructure remains in ruins. Unemployment continues to hover near 40 percent. Beginning in the early 2000s, several Serb political and military commanders were indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for their role in the events at Vukovar. Several were convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Among those so indicted was Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, who had a litany of charges brought against him. He died in 2006, however, while his trial was still in progress.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Croatia; Croatian War of Independence; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Yugoslavia; Yugoslavia People's Army

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Vulliamy, Ed

Ed Vulliamy is an award-winning British journalist and writer, recognized internationally for his reporting on the Bosnian War between 1992 and 1995. Born on August 1, 1954, he was educated at University College School and graduated from Hertford College, Oxford, and the University of Florence. He is currently the U.S. correspondent for the *Observer*, maintaining homes in London and Arizona.

Between 1997 and 2003 he was New York correspondent for the *Observer* and Rome correspondent for the *Guardian*. He covered the fall of the Berlin Wall and the downfall of communism in Eastern Europe, the September 11 attacks on the United States in 2001, and the outbreak of the war in Iraq in March 2003.

When covering the war in Bosnia in 1992 he was among the first journalists, after five days of negotiation with Bosnian Serb authorities, to manage to argue his way into the network of concentration camps operating in northwest Bosnia. His shocking reports subsequently brought world attention to the horrors of the camps at Omarska and Trnopolje.

In 1994 he wrote a book, *Seasons in Hell: Understanding Bosnia's War*, which detailed what he saw firsthand of the genocidal "ethnic cleansing" campaigns against Bosniak civilians during 1992 and 1993. Vulliamy's reportage of the Serb and Croat war against the Bosniaks provided a firsthand appreciation of the carnage, in the words of both victims and participants. In his personal account of what he experienced, Vulliamy tried to make sense of the Bosnian catastrophe for the outside world, chronicling his observations of the terror and forced resettlement that were a characteristic of the conflict. His book provided scenes in which drunken thugs and uniformed lynch mobs perpetrated outrages and atrocities against civilians, including the systematic rape of women. He described how the betrayal of Bosnia by diplomats from the United Nations

(UN) and the European Union (EU) allowed much of this to happen, by denying the Bosniaks the means to defend themselves against the horror while at the same time doing all they could not to intervene to stop the bloodshed.

Vulliamy has shown himself to be a strong believer in the duty of journalists to testify in matters of humanitarian law, and since the Bosnian conflict has lectured extensively on the subject. His opinion is that the traditional frameworks within which a war correspondent operates have changed across the decades, particularly over the issue of impartiality and the moral duty to bear witness.

Some critics of Vulliamy's reporting of the Bosnian War have held that his accounts seemed to have abandoned objectivity, advocating a position in which the moral imperatives of the situation demanded that the world know and judge the Bosnian Serbs accordingly. In this, his approach was not unlike that of some other journalists, such as CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour and *Newsday's* Roy Gutman. Both held that journalistic impartiality in the face of genocide was unacceptable, and that there are times when the role of the objective observer must give way to the greater moral duty to serve as a witness to atrocity. Vulliamy went even further. After the war, in 1996, he became the first journalist to testify in an international war crimes trial, giving evidence for the prosecution in three trials at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague.

So committed was he to publicizing the pain of Bosnia that he also filmed a personal television essay for the BBC, entitled *Bosnia's Last Testament* (1993). In 1995 he wrote an award-winning retrospective series of 12 investigative articles entitled "Bosnia: The Secret War," and in 1996 he recorded a half-hour radio essay on Bosnia for the BBC series "Points of Departure."

On October 29, 2009, after learning that Amnesty International had invited one of his chief critics, the American professor Noam Chomsky to lecture in Northern Ireland, Vulliamy wrote an open letter to Amnesty protesting the invitation. His chief objection was that Chomsky, for what Vulliamy identified as purely political reasons not grounded in scholarship, was a denier of the Bosnian horrors (particularly the concentration camps), and that Chomsky and others like him, while pretending neutrality over Bosnia, are actually apologists for the regimes of Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic. Vulliamy denounced Chomsky as one who has tried to debunk the story of the concentration camps as fakes, a stance that Vulliamy found puzzling and

dismaying. He considered Amnesty's invitation wrong, and for its action he publicly resigned.

For his work on Bosnia, Vulliamy received numerous British journalism awards over several years. These include Granada Television's Foreign Correspondent of the Year Award for 1992; the James Cameron Memorial Award for journalistic excellence in 1994; International Reporter of the Year in 1993, 1994, and 1996; Foreign Reporter of the Year in 1993 and 1997; and (ironically, given subsequent developments) Amnesty International Newspaper Reporter of the Year in 1992.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Concentration Camps; Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide, Bosnia and Croatia; Gutman, Roy; International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

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W

Women in Black

In December 1987, when nine Jerusalem women dressed entirely in black stood in silent vigil to protest Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories, Women in Black (WIB) was born. Garnering massive public attention, even as passersby hurled threats and insults at the women and Israeli media vilified them, WIB protest vigils quickly materialized in 39 Israeli towns, inspiring women worldwide to adopt the Israeli group's tactics and adapt their philosophies. Though it has no organizational hierarchy or official leadership, WIB constitutes a large transnational network comprised of over 200 cells in at least 30 countries, each with its own unique character, primary causes, and autonomous practices. Among the most active and affective is Serbia's Women in Black cell, *Zene u Crnom* (ZuC).

In October 1991, ZuC held their first weekly vigil in Belgrade's Republic Square. Their initial purpose was to resist Serbia's increasingly exclusive nationalist climate and stand united in multiethnic tolerance and solidarity with women across Yugoslavia. Yet, women's opportunities for meaningful participation in Serbian public and civic life diminished as Serbian nationalism grew. ZuC empowered women with a voice in a society that increasingly discounted them, and their ranks swelled as did their determination. As ZuC became the sole public voice opposing Slobodan Milosevic's nationalist regime and their aggressive wars, Milosevic officially labeled ZuC "troublemakers," banning their antiwar activities. As their vigils continued throughout the Croatian and Bosnian Wars (1991–1995) and the Kosovo conflict (1998–2000), Serbian nationalist thugs constantly verbally and sometimes physically assaulted the women, often in full view of the Serbian police. ZuC activists were openly threatened in the Serbian press, billed "traitors" in the Serbian Parliament, and mocked on national television. Still, since 1991, ZuC has organized nearly 1,000 protests, performances, marches, and educational programs throughout the former Yugoslavia, and has maintained multiethnic solidarity to resist the discrimination embedded in nationalist politics and oppose the legitimacy of nationalist politicians.



A spectator watches a Women in Black antiwar protest on April 6, 2012, the 20th anniversary of the start of the Bosnian War. By the fall of 1991, feminists in Belgrade, Serbia, dissatisfied with the lack of progress from antiwar protests, founded Women in Black, an organization inspired by Palestinian women in Israel. (AP Photo/Darko Vojinovic)

As the ex-Yugoslav conflicts ended, the scope of ZuC's activism expanded. ZuC continues to challenge and disrupt the inherently intertwined ethno-nationalist agendas, increasing religious fundamentalism, and gender injustice throughout Serbia and the broader region, while actively pursuing a feminist approach to postconflict transitional justice. To this end, ZuC works with both locally rooted and international NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), as well as national, regional, and supranational governing and legal bodies. One of ZuC's main goals is to gain Serbian public and political acknowledgment of responsibility for the crimes committed in Srebrenica and subsequent reparations for the survivors. ZuC also works closely with victims and survivors groups (such as Mothers of Srebrenica) throughout ex-Yugoslavia, with specific attention to local knowledge-and community-based approaches to social repair.

In addition, ZuC is involved in a range of initiatives to identify and combat oppression. In conjunction with regional antifascist/antinationalist activists, ZuC advocates for greater human and civil rights for Serbia's Roma population, and greater social inclusion and legal protections for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Giving specific attention to war's gendered

effects, ZuC lobbies for the national and regional implementation of United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325, which deals with issues of peace, security, and equality for women, and works with national and international institutions to promote women's human rights in Serbia, and broader global gender justice.

The bravery of ZuC activists in conjunction with their unwavering commitment to global gender justice, their unflagging dedication to peace, and their indefatigable determination to oppose all forms of discrimination and fundamentalism, have earned Serbia's Women in Black and their coordinator, Stasa Zajovic, multiple international awards including the Millennium Peace Prize (2001), and multiple nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize (1994, 2001, and 2005).

Christina M. Morus

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Rape Warfare; Sexual Violence against Women; Zajovic, Stasa

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Y

Yugoslavia

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a communist Balkan state that existed from 1945 to 1992. The successor to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (an earlier state comprising roughly the same territory that was first formed in 1919 as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), communist Yugoslavia included the modern-day independent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia.

In the early 1990s, the nation splintered as its various republics declared their independence. Led by Slobodan Milosevic, the Serb-dominated Yugoslav government fought a bloody civil and ethnic war against Croatia and Bosnia in which Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) committed numerous atrocities. It was during the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s that the term “ethnic cleansing” came into wider usage. During the war and after the conflict ended with the 1995 Dayton Agreement, the remaining parts of Yugoslavia (Montenegro and Serbia) renounced communism and dropped the “socialist” title from the country’s name.

The name Yugoslavia was completely abandoned in 2003 in favor of the name State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. That state also ceased to exist in May 2006, when Montenegrins voted to become independent. Serbia, although significantly smaller than the previous incarnations of the old nation, is considered to be the official successor to Yugoslavia.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: Albania; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatia; Milosevic, Slobodan; Macedonia; Montenegro; Serbia; Tito, Josip Broz

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Yugoslav People's Army

The most powerful military force during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, and formerly one of the power centers within the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia (SKJ), the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska narodna armija*—JNA) was strongly identified with communist Yugoslavia throughout its existence. Upon the demise of the former Yugoslav federation and the descent into civil war from 1991, the JNA high command attempted to preserve the federation by force and maintain its own institutional autonomy, but it failed in both endeavors, becoming an exclusively ethnic Serb military force subordinated to the Serbian state. Following the Bosnian Serb victories in Bosnia-Herzegovina in April 1992, the JNA was formally disestablished and divided into two separate but related entities, the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) and the Army of Yugoslavia (*Vojska Jugoslavije*, or VJ).

Originating in World War II (1941–1944) when the Communist Party of Yugoslavia organized the National Liberation Army (NLA) to fight a Partisan struggle, the Army of Yugoslavia was formally created on March 5, 1945. Thereafter, Yugoslavia's military alliance with the Soviet Union turned the force into a virtual carbon copy of the Red Army. Following the historic split between Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in June 1948, the Yugoslav Army was reorganized as the JNA. By 1951, when the danger of a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia was at its most acute, the JNA consisted of around 300,000 troops, organized into four army areas, with staffs in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo each commanding two corps. Tito ruthlessly purged the high command of suspected Soviet agents and sympathizers in 1948–1949, after which the army was to remain his most politically reliable constituency.

The Tito-Stalin split forced Yugoslavia into a brief military alliance with the United States, and in 1954 Yugoslavia entered into a U.S.-sponsored Balkan Pact with Greece and Turkey—two anti-Soviet North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) states in the Balkans. During this period, when a state of military emergency existed in Yugoslavia, the JNA was expanded to 500,000 troops and defense expenditures reached a high 22 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). With the arrival of large quantities of U.S. military aid, the JNA was able to upgrade its hitherto relatively limited order of battle. By 1955 it was able to field 29 fully equipped divisions (with heavy armaments) and 15 lightly equipped divisions (mainly rifle infantry). U.S. military aid during the early 1950s enabled the JNA to establish a modern air force and the beginnings of a navy. At this time Yugoslavia also began to establish its own military industries to lessen its dependence on foreign suppliers of military materials.

Following the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement of 1955, Tito's government concluded that the Soviet threat to Yugoslavia's security had abated enough to justify a major demobilization. By 1968 the JNA consisted of only 200,000 troops, with federal defense expenditures down to 6 percent of GDP. During the 1960s, the JNA was extensively modernized, notably through the import of heavier Soviet armaments and the deployment of more sophisticated domestically produced military materials.

The JNA held a politically subordinate position within the SKJ from 1948 to 1966. During 1966, however, the JNA high command, in particular its counterintelligence service (KOS), played a key role in the removal from power of Alexander Rankovic, head of the country's State Security Service (SDS) and a close associate of Tito. One result of this removal was the predominance of military intelligence over the SDS thereafter.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 brought about major changes within the Yugoslav armed forces. A system of "total national defense" (TND) was created, combining the JNA and new Territorial Defense Forces (TDFs), which were modeled on the wartime NLA and the Partisan ethos of irregular revolutionary warfare in the face of invading forces. As a result of the creation of TDFs in each of the federation's six republics, the JNA was reduced in size still further during the 1970s and 1980s. By the late 1980s, its order of battle consisted of around 180,000 troops in three major services (ground, air, and naval forces) equipped with 1,500 main battle tanks, 2,500 artillery pieces, 3,000 anti-aircraft guns, 350 combat aircraft, and 30 major warships and submarines. By the late 1980s, the TDFs had increased to around 1 million part-time troops. The growth of relatively cheap TDFs, however, did not lead to lower defense expenditures. In fact, these expenditures increased, mainly because modernization of the JNA implied an emphasis on firepower rather than

manpower. One result of this development was that Yugoslavia had become one of the world's top 10 armament producers and exporters by the end of the 1980s.

The system of TND created a nationwide network of armaments storage facilities centered on Bosnia. Universal conscription for the JNA and later service in the TDFs meant that virtually all male Yugoslav citizens had some military experience, and private ownership of firearms became very high during the 1970s and 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, Yugoslavia was a highly militarized society in which firearms were plentifully available.

The fact that the JNA was no longer the federation's only armed force after 1968 had many significant outcomes, notably at the time of the Croatian Spring of 1970–1971. At that time certain Croatian nationalists demanded that Croatia's TDF be turned into a Croatian army of sorts. More than any other development, this demand led Tito to purge the Croatian nationalists in 1971–1972. Many of the centrifugal tendencies that manifested themselves in Croatia during the early 1970s, however, were later partly institutionalized in the 1974 federal constitution, which increased the powers of the republics at the expense of the federal government. Only in the military sphere did power remain centralized, with the JNA securing full control over the TDFs by the early 1980s. Within the increasingly confederalized SKJ, the strongly pro-Yugoslav JNA was increasingly represented on the SKJ's top ruling bodies during the 1970s and 1980s. Following the death of Tito in 1980, the JNA high command perceived itself to be the ultimate guardian of his political legacy.

Within the post-Tito collective state presidency, however, the crises of the 1980s and 1990s revealed that the power and influence of the JNA were limited and always subordinate to that of the ruling SKJ. With the violent and chaotic demise of the federation in 1990–1991, the JNA's position became very difficult, if not impossible. Its high command attempted to preserve the federation, but their ability to achieve this goal proved very limited in practice. The JNA's claim to be an all-Yugoslav force above the fray of the nationalist politics was undermined by the fact that, although officially a multiethnic conscript force, its professional core was composed predominately of ethnic Serbs by the late 1980s. By that time, 40 percent of the JNA's manpower and 60 percent of its officer corps were ethnic Serbs. During the beginnings of the Yugoslav wars, the number of non-Serbs in the JNA fell dramatically, reaching no more than 3 percent of manpower by early 1992.

The hard-line communism and pro-Yugoslav loyalties of a mainly Serb high command and officer corps were unacceptable to many non-Serbs, particularly

after new anticommunist and separatist governments were elected in Slovenia and Croatia. The army drifted into alliance with the government of Slobodan Milosevic. Ostensibly committed to preserving Yugoslavia, Milosevic also promised to continue financing the JNA at a time of great uncertainty in the disintegrating Yugoslav federation.

The major political challenges of the early 1990s proved too much for the JNA's often politically inept and divided commanders. Federal defense minister General Veljko Kadijevic and chief of staff General Blagoje Adzic refused to impose a national state of emergency without proper political authorization, which could not be forthcoming from a hopelessly divided state presidency. Confronted with a rising tide of hostility toward the army, as well as war throughout the non-Serb areas of the former Yugoslavia, Kadijevic and Adzic were easily manipulated by Milosevic. In 1989 and 1991, the JNA allowed itself to be used for internal security purposes in the Serbian province of Kosovo. In March 1991 it openly allied itself with Milosevic when it agreed to be used to help suppress antigovernment demonstrations in Belgrade. In June 1991, when Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally declared their independence from the imploding federation, the JNA mounted an inept invasion of Slovenia, from which it was forced to withdraw by Slovene TDFs.

In Croatia, Milosevic's policy in the second half of 1991 was to use the formidable firepower of the JNA to partition the republic by the end of that year, with the JNA openly allied with local Serb separatists.

Having previously managed to disarm the Bosnian TDF, the JNA and its local Bosnian Serb allies were able to forcibly seize 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina during the spring of 1992. The siege of Sarajevo in particular resulted in the imposition of United Nations (UN) economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992. In a bid to avert international isolation, the remaining Yugoslavia then declared that the JNA would be withdrawn from Bosnia. In fact, the Bosnian Serbs within the JNA became the BSA—a well-armed force of around 50,000 troops. Of the 180,000 troops in the JNA prior to this supposed split, 130,000 henceforth became the new VJ, but few JNA troops actually left Bosnia in May 1992. Command of the BSA was also entrusted to a veteran JNA officer, General Ratko Mladic.

Subsequently, Milosevic strove to retain close links with the army of Yugoslavia, displacing the older Partisan clique around General Zivota Panic and installing as chief of staff General Momcilo Perisic, a veteran of the Bosnian

War, in August 1993. Within the remaining Yugoslavia, the VJ was mainly used for internal security purposes in the Sandzak and Kosovo.

Marko Milivojevic

See also: Milosevic, Slobodan; Mladic, Ratko; Panic, Milan; Perisic, Momcilo; Zivanovic, Milenko

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Z

Zajovic, Stasa

Cofounder of Belgrade's feminist, antimilitarist group Women in Black (*Zene u Crnom*) in 1991, Stasa Zajovic is a prominent antiwar activist, community organizer, and civil society advocate.

Born in Niksic, Montenegro, in 1953, she graduated from the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Philology in 1977 and was a visible presence in Yugoslavia's feminist movement throughout the 1980s.

Like many women active in feminist organizing in Yugoslavia, Zajovic was at the forefront of antiwar activism in 1980s Serbia. As Serbian nationalism gained force in the 1980s, Zajovic joined with activist men and women working to combat militarism and nationalist fundamentalism. This group evolved into the Center of AntiWar Action. With the emergence of nationalism came the erasure of the social, legal, and political advancements of feminism in Yugoslavia, and women's presence in public and political life began to evaporate. Soon recognizing the ways that the power and labor distributions within the broader antiwar movement mirrored the increasingly stark oppressive gender inequities emerging within Serbian culture at large, Zajovic and other like-minded Belgrade women sought an explicitly feminist antiwar alternative. From 1985 to 1992, Zajovic was active in the Belgrade feminist group *Zena i drustvo* (Woman and Society), the Belgrade Women's Lobby, the Women's Parliament–Belgrade, and the Civic Resistance Movement, and was the cofounder of The SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence.

In 1991, Italy's Women in Black (*Donne en Nero*) visited Belgrade to offer support and stand in feminist solidarity with the women of Belgrade. Soon after, on October 9, 1991, Serbia's Women in Black was established as Zajovic organized Belgrade's first Women in Black antiwar street action. Throughout the Yugoslav wars, Zajovic ever more publically opposed nationalist aggression and militarism, often at great personal risk. As a primary organizer of all of Serbia's Women in Black antiwar activities, Zajovic coordinated weekly antiwar demonstrations in Belgrade's Republic Square, sanctuary for men refusing military service, and assistance for war refugees.

Throughout the wars and well into the present, Zajovic has been at the forefront of a host of regional and broader international women's solidarity networks including: The International Network of Women's Solidarity against War; the Network of Conscientious Objectors and Antimilitarism in Serbia; The Women's Peace Coalition; and The Women's Regional Lobby for Peace, Security and Justice in Southeastern Europe, among others.

As the primary coordinator of both Serbia's Women in Black as well as of the international Women in Black network, Zajovic continues to work against war, nationalism, and militarism, in cooperation with like-minded organizations. Zajovic's antiwar activism, in conjunction with her extensive postwar work toward transitional justice and interethnic women's solidarity, has earned substantial international recognition including the Millennium Peace Prize (2001) and multiple nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize (1994, 2001, and 2005).

Christina M. Morus

See also: Bosnian Genocide Overview; Foca; Mothers of Srebrenica; Rape Camps; Rape Warfare; Sexual Violence against Women; Women in Black

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Zepa

Zepa is a village located in the eastern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina that became a designated United Nations safe haven in 1993, during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War. Zepa was besieged and captured by Bosnian Serb forces under General Ratko Mladic in July 1995. In 1991, Zepa's population was 2,441, and about 95 percent of its inhabitants were Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims). After the United Nations (UN) declared it a safe area, the population ballooned to some 15,000 people, the vast majority of whom were Bosniaks seeking refuge from the surrounding Republika Srpska, which was attempting to ethnically cleanse the area of all non-Serbs.



Serb soldiers carrying the body of one of their own, killed in combat when the town of Zepa was being taken. A small town in eastern Bosnia, not far from Srebrenica, Zepa was designated a United Nations “safe area” in 1993. It was one of the smallest of the “safe areas.” In July 1995 it was besieged and then taken by Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic. (AP Photo/Sava Radovanovic)

Unfortunately for Zepa’s residents, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had stationed only 80 Ukrainian troops to defend the city and keep the Serbs at bay. And because of Zepa’s relative isolation and distance from other safe havens, it was virtually impossible to reinforce the UN garrison there on short notice. After the successful sacking of Srebrenica and the massacre of thousands of its inhabitants (July 11–13, 1995), Mladic decided to move against Zepa. Realizing that they were powerless against the much stronger and more numerous Serb forces, the UN troops in Zepa negotiated with Mladic so that women and children would be immediately evacuated from the town. They were promised safe passage to refugee camps at Sarajevo, and the first truck convoys began leaving the town on July 21, 1995. The evacuation took several days. Serb troops entered Zepa on July 25, but there were still some 3,000 Bosniak men and boys there.

At that point, Bosniak colonel Avdo Palic, who had helped defend the town, was determined to negotiate safe passage for the men of the village. On July 27, he agreed to meet with Mladic at the now-abandoned UNPROFOR headquarters. He never returned from the meeting. While most of Zepa’s male population managed to escape the fate of the Bosniaks at Srebrenica, Palic was given up for dead, presumably murdered on the orders of Mladic.

In November 2001, a mass grave was located not far from Zepa, and human remains thought to be Palic’s were exhumed. A DNA analysis was conducted, but at the time existing technology yielded an inconclusive finding. Eight years later, the same remains were again tested using updated DNA-matching technology. At that time, Palic’s remains were positively identified when extracted DNA matched that of several of his relatives. In August 2009, Palic’s remains were solemnly reinterred on the grounds of the Ali Pasha Mosque in Sarajevo during a ceremony that drew several thousand people.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also: Bosniaks; Bosnian Safe Areas; Bosnian War; Mladic, Ratko; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations; United Nations Protection Force

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Zivanovic, Milenko

Milenko Zivanovic was the first commanding officer of the Drina Corps, one of six geographically based corps in the Army of Republika Srpska (*Vojska Republike Srpske*, or VRS) during the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. A career officer in the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*, or JNA) prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Zivanovic was born in Ratkovici, in the municipality of Srebrenica, eastern Bosnia, on May 30, 1946. An ethnic Serb, he immediately aligned himself with the VRS when it was established in 1992.

On November 1, 1992, the VRS formed the Drina Corps, with Zivanovic in command from the very beginning. Raised in the general area around Srebrenica, the Drina Corps was given responsibility for operations there during the war, and when the VRS High Command decided in the summer of 1995 that the time had come for the capture of Srebrenica it was Zivanovic's corps that was given the task of planning and leading the assault.

On July 2, 1995, Zivanovic began his preparations for the attack by deciding on a strategy that would reduce the United Nations (UN) "safe zone" of Srebrenica to just its urban area. This would force the rural Bosniak population in the zone into the already overcrowded city of Srebrenica, thereby creating conditions that made it next to impossible for the city to feed itself. In a classic case of ethnic cleansing, under such circumstances the city would have to be evacuated.

With this in mind, on July 3-4 Zivanovic and a group of senior officers positioned themselves at an advanced command post of the Bratunac Brigade in Pribicevac. They were watching the sector carefully in the expectation that the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine*, or ARBiH) would actively defend any Serb advance on Srebrenica. It was anticipated, further, that such defense would be supported by

the UN contingent stationed in Srebrenica, a unit of Dutch peacekeepers code-named Dutchbat, under the aegis of the general deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Further orders related to air defense, as the VRS assumed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air power would be called in for assistance. When the assault was in its early stages and this seemed likely, barely anything from NATO eventuated to defend the city as anticipated.

The general approach called for the operation to be complete within three to five days. All units of the Drina Corps, when ordered, would go from defense to attack along a broad front. Planning for the assault was thorough and far-reaching, and embraced a number of units. On July 5, Zivanovic was able to report to VRS commanding general Ratko Mladic that all units had completed their preparations, and then, on July 6, Zivanovic was ordered to transfer units of the Drina Corps toward the city of Srebrenica.

On July 11, 1995, Mladic outlined to the senior UNPROFOR officers in the region what he proposed to do. Zivanovic, as commander of the Drina Corps, was present, along with other senior Drina Corps officers. Later that night a second meeting took place in which Mladic, this time with his new favorite, General Radislav Krstic by his side, gave details of his plan for Srebrenica. Zivanovic was not present on this occasion. Mladic outlined a series of arrangements to transport the Bosniak civilians out of the Srebrenica enclave, stating that he would provide the vehicles to transport the refugees from the Dutchbat base at Potocari. He demanded that all ARBiH troops within the area of Srebrenica lay down their arms, and made it clear that failure to do so would jeopardize the existence of the Bosniak population.

While the assault was taking place, personally supervised by Mladic himself during a 10-day campaign resulting in the biggest genocidal massacre in Europe since World War II, Zivanovic was replaced as commanding officer of the Drina Corps at the order of the president of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic. On July 13 he was obliged to hand over command to General Krstic, who had only just been promoted to the rank of general major the previous month. Krstic was deemed to be a more ruthless commander than Zivanovic, even though the latter, by most accounts, was probably a more able staff officer.

What this meant in reality was that although Zivanovic led the assault that captured the region and city of Srebrenica, he was relieved of command immediately prior to the murderous rampage that took place over the 10 days following the city's capture. Both Krstic and Zivanovic were later to argue that

their only priority was the military side of the assault, and that they were not directly accountable for the massacre, ethnic cleansing, or crimes against humanity that followed after the city had been captured. After Krstic became Mladic's second-in-command, he saw his soldiers and militia forces attached to his command massacre between 7,000 and 8,000 Bosniak men and boys in Europe's worst atrocity since the Holocaust.

Together, Krstic and Zivanovic were responsible for the fall of Srebrenica, and they were certainly part of a criminal conspiracy that resulted in the ethnic cleansing of the city and its region. The aftermath for the two men was quite different, however. Krstic was subsequently arrested, tried, and convicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and sentenced to 46 years' imprisonment, later reduced on appeal to 35 years. Milenko Zivanovic was never indicted by the ICTY and now lives in retirement in Serbia.

Paul R. Bartrop

See also: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; Krstic, Radislav; Mladic, Ratko; Srebrenica Massacre; United Nations Protection Force

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Documents on the Bosnian Genocide

1. United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, December 9, 1948

In 1946 the United Nations (UN) General Assembly passed a resolution affirming that genocide was a crime under international law, and called on UN member states to make an effort to prevent and punish the crime. By December 9, 1948, the General Assembly had passed a resolution regarding the definition of genocide—one that is simultaneously both broad and narrow. In regard to the former, it includes acts that are not lethal; where the latter is concerned, it neglects to include a variety of groups under its protection, such as those defined by politics, social grouping, and sexual orientation. All these were originally intended to be included until certain states, including the Soviet Union and the United States, argued against their inclusion for political reasons.

Article 1

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious

group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article 4

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

Article 6

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article 7

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article 8

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

Article 9

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article 10

The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article 11

The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 12

Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article 13

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a *procès-verbal* and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 14

The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 15

If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article 16

A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article 17

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article 11 of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article 11;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with Article 12;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article 13;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article 14;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with Article 15;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with Article 16.

Article 18

The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

Article 19

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

Source: A/RES/260 (III). 9 December 1948.

<https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2078/volume-78-I-1021-English.pdf>. Used by permission of the United Nations.

2. Slobodan Milosevic, Speech at Kosovo Polje, June 28, 1989

On June 28, 1989—St. Vitus's Day, a holy day for Serbs—Slobodan Milosevic, the then-president of Serbia, delivered a speech to a huge crowd (estimated at

around 1 million people) at Gazimestan, the location of a monument to the 1389 Battle of Kosovo Polje. As this was the 600th anniversary of the battle, Milosevic's speech was the highlight of a day-long event in which numerous expressions of ethnic and religious hatred were made against Muslims. Given the location, Muslim Albanians were especially targeted. In the speech, Milosevic referred to the possibility of "armed battles" as Serbia's future unfolded, and made the statement to the adoring crowd that "it seems as if Serbia has ... regained its state and its dignity." He indicated that in commemorating the 600th anniversary of the battle those present were celebrating "an event of the distant past which has a great historical and symbolic significance" for Serbia's future.

By the force of social circumstances this great 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo is taking place in a year in which Serbia, after many years, after many decades, has regained its state, national, and spiritual integrity. Therefore, it is not difficult for us to answer today the old question: how are we going to face Milos [Milos Obilic, legendary hero of the Battle of Kosovo]. Through the play of history and life, it seems as if Serbia has, precisely in this year, in 1989, regained its state and its dignity and thus has celebrated an event of the distant past which has a great historical and symbolic significance for its future.

Serbian Character – Liberational

Today, it is difficult to say what is the historical truth about the Battle of Kosovo and what is legend. Today this is no longer important. Oppressed by pain and filled with hope, the people used to remember and to forget, as, after all, all people in the world do, and it was ashamed of treachery and glorified heroism. Therefore it is difficult to say today whether the Battle of Kosovo was a defeat or a victory for the Serbian people, whether thanks to it we fell into slavery or we survived in this slavery. The answers to those questions will be constantly sought by science and the people. What has been certain through all the centuries until our time today is that disharmony struck Kosovo 600 years ago. If we lost the battle, then this was not only the result of social superiority and the armed advantage of the Ottoman Empire but also of the tragic disunity in the leadership of the Serbian state at that time. In that distant 1389, the Ottoman Empire was not only stronger than that of the Serbs but it was also more fortunate than the Serbian kingdom.

The lack of unity and betrayal in Kosovo will continue to follow the Serbian people like an evil fate through the whole of its history. Even in the last war, this lack of unity and betrayal led the Serbian people and Serbia into agony, the consequences of which in the historical and moral sense exceeded fascist aggression.

Even later, when a socialist Yugoslavia was set up, in this new state the Serbian leadership remained divided, prone to compromise to the detriment of its own people. The concessions that many Serbian leaders made at the expense of their people could not be accepted historically and ethically by any nation in the world, especially because the Serbs have never in the whole of their history conquered and exploited others.

Their national and historical being has been liberational throughout the whole of history and through two world wars, as it is today. They liberated themselves and when they could they also helped others to liberate themselves. The fact that in this region they are a major nation is not a Serbian sin or shame; this is an advantage which they have not used against others, but I must say that here, in this big, legendary field of Kosovo, the Serbs have not used the advantage of being great for their own benefit either.

Thanks to their leaders and politicians and their vassal mentality they felt guilty before themselves and others. This situation lasted for decades, it lasted for years and here we are now at the field of Kosovo to say that this is no longer the case.

Unity Will Make Prosperity Possible

Disunity among Serb officials made Serbia lag behind and their inferiority humiliated Serbia. Therefore, no place in Serbia is better suited for saying this than the field of Kosovo and no place in Serbia is better suited than the field of Kosovo for saying that unity in Serbia will bring prosperity to the Serbian people in Serbia and each one of its citizens, irrespective of his national or religious affiliation.

Serbia of today is united and equal to other republics and prepared to do everything to improve its financial and social position and that of all its citizens. If there is unity, cooperation, and seriousness, it will succeed in doing so. This is why the optimism that is now present in Serbia to a considerable extent regarding the future days is realistic, also because it is based on freedom, which makes it possible for all people to express their positive, creative and humane abilities aimed at furthering social and personal life.

Serbia has never had only Serbs living in it. Today, more than in the past, members of other peoples and nationalities also live in it. This is not a disadvantage for Serbia. I am truly convinced that it is its advantage. National composition of almost all countries in the world today, particularly developed ones, has also been changing in this direction. Citizens of different nationalities, religions, and races have been living together more and more frequently and more and more successfully.

Socialism in particular, being a progressive and just democratic society, should not allow people to be divided in the national and religious respect. The only differences one can and should allow in socialism are between hard-working people and idlers and between honest people and dishonest people. Therefore, all people in Serbia who live from their own work, honestly, respecting other people and other nations, are in their own republic.

Dramatic National Divisions

After all, our entire country should be set up on the basis of such principles. Yugoslavia is a multinational community and it can survive only under the conditions of full equality for all nations that live in it.

The crisis that hit Yugoslavia has brought about national divisions, but also social, cultural, religious, and many other less important ones. Among all these divisions, nationalist ones have shown themselves to be the most dramatic. Resolving them will make it easier to remove other divisions and mitigate the consequences they have created.

For as long as multinational communities have existed, their weak point has always been the relations between different nations. The threat is that the question of one nation being endangered by the others can be posed one day—and this can then start a wave of suspicions, accusations, and intolerance, a wave that invariably grows and is difficult to stop. This threat has been hanging like a sword over our heads all the time. Internal and external enemies of multinational communities are aware of this and therefore they organize their activity against multinational societies mostly by fomenting national conflicts.

At this moment, we in Yugoslavia are behaving as if we have never had such an experience and as if in our recent and distant past we have never experienced the worst tragedy of national conflicts that a society can experience and still survive.

Equal and harmonious relations among Yugoslav peoples are a necessary condition for the existence of Yugoslavia and for it to find its way out of the

crisis and, in particular, they are a necessary condition for its economic and social prosperity. In this respect Yugoslavia does not stand out from the social milieu of the contemporary, particularly the developed, world. This world is more and more marked by national tolerance, national cooperation, and even national equality. The modern economic and technological, as well as political and cultural, development has guided various peoples toward each other, has made them interdependent and increasingly has made them equal as well [*medjusobno ravnopravni*]. Equal and united people can above all become a part of the civilization toward which mankind is moving. If we cannot be at the head of the column leading to such a civilization, there is certainly no need for us to be at its tail.

At the time when this famous historical battle was fought in Kosovo, the people were looking at the stars, expecting aid from them. Now, six centuries later, they are looking at the stars again, waiting to conquer them. On the first occasion, they could allow themselves to be disunited and to have hatred and treason because they lived in smaller, weakly interlinked worlds. Now, as people on this planet, they cannot conquer even their own planet if they are not united, let alone other planets, unless they live in mutual harmony and solidarity.

Therefore, words devoted to unity, solidarity, and cooperation among people have no greater significance anywhere on the soil of our motherland than they have here in the field of Kosovo, which is a symbol of disunity and treason.

In the memory of the Serbian people, this disunity was decisive in causing the loss of the battle and in bringing about the fate which Serbia suffered for a full six centuries.

Even if it were not so, from a historical point of view, it remains certain that the people regarded disunity as its greatest disaster. Therefore it is the obligation of the people to remove disunity, so that they may protect themselves from defeats, failures, and stagnation in the future.

Unity Brings Back Dignity

This year, the Serbian people became aware of the necessity of their mutual harmony as the indispensable condition for their present life and further development.

I am convinced that this awareness of harmony and unity will make it possible for Serbia not only to function as a state but to function as a successful state. Therefore I think that it makes sense to say this here in Kosovo, where that disunity once upon a time tragically pushed back Serbia for centuries and

endangered it, and where renewed unity may advance it and may return dignity to it. Such an awareness about mutual relations constitutes an elementary necessity for Yugoslavia, too, for its fate is in the joined hands of all its peoples. The Kosovo heroism has been inspiring our creativity for six centuries, and has been feeding our pride and does not allow us to forget that at one time we were an army great, brave, and proud, one of the few that remained undefeated when losing.

Six centuries later, now, we are being again engaged in battles and are facing battles. They are not armed battles, although such things cannot be excluded yet. However, regardless of what kind of battles they are, they cannot be won without resolve, bravery, and sacrifice, without the noble qualities that were present here in the field of Kosovo in the days past. Our chief battle now concerns implementing the economic, political, cultural, and general social prosperity, finding a quicker and more successful approach to a civilization in which people will live in the 21st century. For this battle, we certainly need heroism, of course of a somewhat different kind, but that courage without which nothing serious and great can be achieved remains unchanged and remains urgently necessary.

Six centuries ago, Serbia heroically defended itself in the field of Kosovo, but it also defended Europe. Serbia was at that time the bastion that defended the European culture, religion, and European society in general. Therefore today it appears not only unjust but even unhistorical and completely absurd to talk about Serbia's belonging to Europe. Serbia has been a part of Europe incessantly, now just as much as it was in the past, of course, in its own way, but in a way that in the historical sense never deprived it of dignity. In this spirit we now endeavor to build a society, rich and democratic, and thus to contribute to the prosperity of this beautiful country, this unjustly suffering country, but also to contribute to the efforts of all the progressive people of our age that they make for a better and happier world.

Let the memory of Kosovo heroism live forever!

Long live Serbia!

Long live Yugoslavia!

Long live peace and brotherhood among peoples!

Source: Compiled by the National Technical Information Service of the Department of Commerce of the U.S. Online at <http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/spch-kosovo1989.htm>.

3. Secretary of State James Baker: U.S. Concerns about the Future of Yugoslavia, June 21, 1991

In June 1991, U.S. secretary of state James Baker traveled to Belgrade to investigate firsthand the situation in Yugoslavia; the country seemed in danger of breaking apart. In his public remarks at the end of almost 10 hours meeting with Yugoslav federal officials and the presidents of all six constituent republics, he came to the conclusion that what he had heard in no way eased his concerns. He was especially concerned that the disintegration of the state could lead to violence or worse, which is why he repeated his hope that a way could be found, “through dialogue and negotiations,” to move forward peacefully. What this document shows is that from the very first days of Yugoslavia’s postcommunist instability—indeed, even before any of the republics had seceded—there was a genuine concern that the country could descend into war.

U.S. Concerns about the Future of Yugoslavia: Excerpts from Remarks at the Federation Palace, Belgrade, Yugoslavia

First, I want to thank the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the respective Republic leaders for meeting with us on what was pretty short notice.

Let me say that we came to Yugoslavia because of our concern about the “crisis” the Minister just referred to, really, our concern about the dangers of a disintegration of this country. Instability and breakup of Yugoslavia, we think, could have some very tragic consequences, not only here, but more broadly, in Europe, as well.

We’re obviously not alone in having these concerns. You heard the Minister mention the 34 other countries of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]. They have all expressed, along with us, our collective concern when we were at our meeting in Berlin. My discussions with Yugoslavia’s neighbors and with members of the European Community also indicated the depths of these concerns. And I have today conveyed these very serious concerns about the future of this country in the meetings that I have been privileged to have.

In all candor, ladies and gentlemen, what I heard today has not allayed my concerns or our concerns. Nor, I suspect, will it allay the concerns of others when we give them a readout of these meetings.

Now having said that, I do have to say that we did see and find some common ground here today.

First of all, everyone I spoke to stressed the fact that they were prepared to continue a dialogue on the future of Yugoslavia.

Secondly, all of them indicated a wish to avoid violence and all of them indicated strong opposition to any use of force.

Third, they all recognized the legitimate interest of the international community, and, I think, welcomed its continued effort to promote dialogue and promote a peaceful resolution of these problems through negotiations.

In all of these meetings, I stressed the importance of respecting human and minority rights, of continuing the process of democratization, and of continuing a dialogue to create a new basis for unity. In particular, I emphasized the need to move ahead on the constitutional rotation of the federal presidency, as well as the need to avoid unilateral acts that could preempt the negotiating process.

As far as next steps are concerned, we will be consulting with the European Community and with other interested members of the international community. Based on these discussions today, I'm very hopeful, that notwithstanding all of the difficulties, there is some prospect for continued dialogue. There will certainly be active efforts by the international community, including the United States, to try and promote such a dialogue.

But in the end—as we all, I think, understand and recognize and know—it's really going to be up to the people of Yugoslavia whether or not these problems are overcome, whether or not they are overcome peacefully and through negotiation and dialogue, as they should be.

Question:

Mr. Baker, several of the presidents [of the Yugoslav republics] mentioned that you made the point that, should any of their republics break away, they cannot expect American recognition for their independence or outside economic help. Is that the case? What was your message in that regard?

Secretary Baker:

The message was that these issues and problems should be resolved to the extent possible through dialogue and should not be actions taken which would preempt those negotiations and that dialogue.

I was asked the question this morning whether or not the United States would recognize the forthcoming declaration of independence by Slovenia, a

declaration that is expected, I think, in a day or so. I said that it would not be the policy of the United States to recognize that declaration, because we want to see this problem resolved through negotiation and through dialogue and not through preemptive unilateral actions.

Now, having said that, I want to direct you back to my statement where I said we believe, based on all of our discussions, that everyone is interested in finding a way, through dialogue and negotiation, to craft a new basis for unity of Yugoslavia, and to find a way, through dialogue and negotiation, to see the devolution of additional authority, responsibility, and sovereignty to the republics of Yugoslavia.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *Dispatch*, 2:26, July 1, 1991.

4. UN General Assembly Resolution 47/121, December 18, 1992

When the United Nations (UN) General Assembly passes a resolution, it is voted on by all member states, and passage usually requires a simple majority. On December 18, 1992, in view of the carnage that had taken place during the year just ending, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 47/121, which condemned the ethnic cleansing of the Bosnian Muslims by the Bosnian Serbs and called it genocide. This was a significant admission, as later UN bodies such as the International Court of Justice would rule that ethnic cleansing was, in itself, not synonymous with genocide in view of the fact that the critical element of “intent to destroy” a group is not necessarily present in ethnic cleansing.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled “The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina,”

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General,

Reaffirming its resolution 46/242 of 25 August 1992,

Recalling all the resolutions adopted by the Security Council regarding the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other parts of the former Yugoslavia,

Appreciating all the ongoing international efforts to restore peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly those efforts being pursued by the United Nations, the European Community, the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Organization of the Islamic Conference,

Commending the untiring efforts and bravery of the United Nations Protection Force in securing relief operations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relief and humanitarian agencies, and expressing its condemnation of the recent attacks on the United Nations Protection Force in Sarajevo by Serbian forces resulting in loss of life and injuries to some of its personnel,

Taking note of the report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia dated 6 November 1992, in which he stated, inter alia, that “ethnic cleansing” did not appear to be the consequence of the war, but rather its goal,

Taking note also of the report of the Special Rapporteur dated 17 November 1992, in which he stated, inter alia, that another factor which had contributed to the intensity of “ethnic cleansing” in areas under Serbian control was the marked imbalance between the weaponry in the hands of the Serbian and the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Gravely concerned about the deterioration of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina owing to intensified aggressive acts by the Serbian and Montenegrin forces to acquire more territories by force, characterized by a consistent pattern of gross and systematic violations of human rights, a burgeoning refugee population resulting from mass expulsions of defenceless civilians from their homes and the existence in Serbian and Montenegrin controlled areas of concentration camps and detention centres, in pursuit of the abhorrent policy of “ethnic cleansing,” which is a form of genocide,

Strongly condemning Serbia and Montenegro and their surrogates in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for their continued non-compliance with all relevant United Nations resolutions,

Deeply regretting that the sanctions imposed by the Security Council have not had the desired effect of halting the aggressive acts by Serbian and Montenegrin irregular forces and the direct and indirect support of the Yugoslav People's Army for the aggressive acts in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Recalling that the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has accepted the constitutional principles proposed by the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia,

Convinced that the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina warrants the implementation of decisive actions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to oblige Serbia and Montenegro and their surrogates in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions,

Reaffirming the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the right of all Bosnian refugees to return to their homes in conditions of safety and honour,

Reaffirming also that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has the inherent right to individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Chapter VII, Article 51, of the Charter, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security,

Determined to restore peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as to preserve its unity, sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity,

1. Reaffirms its support for the Government and people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their just struggle to safeguard their sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity;
2. Strongly condemns Serbia, Montenegro and Serbian forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and their non-compliance with existing resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as the London Peace Accords of August 1992;

3. Demands that Serbia and Montenegro and Serbian forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately cease their aggressive acts and hostility and comply fully and unconditionally with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 752 (1992) of 15 May 1992, 757 (1992) of 30 May 1992, 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) of 13 August 1992, 781 (1992) of 9 October 1992 and 787 (1992) of 16 November 1992, General Assembly resolution 46/242 and the London Peace Accords of August 1992;
4. Demands that, in accordance with Security Council resolution 752 (1992), all elements of the Yugoslav People's Army still in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be withdrawn immediately, or be subject to the authority of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or be disbanded and disarmed with their weapons placed under effective United Nations control;
5. Demands also that, in accordance with Security Council resolution 752 (1992), all elements of the Croatian Army that may be in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that are already not operating in accord with the authority of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be withdrawn immediately, or be subject to the authority of that Government, or be disbanded and disarmed with their weapons placed under effective United Nations control;
6. Supports the consideration by the Security Council of the immediate enforcement of Council resolution 781 (1992) banning all military flights over the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
7. Urges the Security Council, within its responsibility to maintain international peace and security, to again call upon the Serbian and Montenegrin forces to comply with all relevant resolutions and to bring to an end the aggressive acts against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to implement and enforce all existing resolutions with respect to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia and, specifically, further to consider measures, including the following, on an urgent basis, but no later than 15 January 1993:
 - (a) In the event that Serbian and Montenegrin forces fail to comply fully with all relevant resolutions of the Security Council, under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to authorize Member States, in cooperation with the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to use all necessary means to uphold and restore the

sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

- (b) To exempt the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo as imposed on the former Yugoslavia under Security Council resolution 713 (1991) of 25 September 1991;
- 8. Also urges the Security Council to consider taking measures to open more airports/airfields for international humanitarian relief flights, to pursue emergency airdrops as a stop-gap measure and to study the possibility of and the requirements for the promotion of safe areas for humanitarian purposes;
- 9. Further urges the Security Council to consider what resources may be required to improve the implementation of all relevant resolutions, and calls upon Member States to notify the Secretary-General regarding the availability of personnel and materiel to assist and facilitate in this effort;
- 10. Urges the Security Council to consider recommending the establishment of an ad hoc international war crimes tribunal to try and punish those who have committed war crimes in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina when sufficient information has been provided by the Commission of Experts established by Council resolution 780 (1992) of 6 October 1992;
- 11. Requests the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to conclude expeditiously the work of the Working Group on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to report on the reasons for the lack of progress and to submit proposals to overcome obstacles in the fulfilment of their mandate by 18 January 1993;
- 12. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly by 18 January 1993 on the implementation of the present resolution;
- 13. Decides to remain seized of the matter and to continue the consideration of this item.

Source: UN Security Council, 3199th Meeting. S/RES/819; April 16, 1993. Used by permission of the United Nations.

5. Dayton Peace Accords, November 21, 1995

In the fall of 1995, the United States hosted a series of negotiations between the representatives of the several Balkan nations that comprised the former Yugoslavia. The countries had been engaged in a civil war for the past five years. The primary Balkan countries involved were Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Croatia, and a much-diminished Yugoslavia. Talks were held in Dayton, Ohio, where, on November 21, 1995, the concerned parties initialed the following agreement, specifying a number of terms to bring peace to the region. The agreement was formally signed by the representatives on December 14, 1995, in Paris.

GENERAL FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT FOR PEACE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the “Parties”),

Recognizing the need for a comprehensive settlement to bring an end to the tragic conflict in the region,

Desiring to contribute toward that end and to promote an enduring peace and stability,

Affirming their commitment to the Agreed Basic Principles issued on September 8, 1995, the Further Agreed Basic Principles issued on September 26, 1995, and the cease-fire agreements of September 14 and October 5, 1995,

Noting the agreement of August 29, 1995, which authorized the delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to sign, on behalf of the Republika Srpska, the parts of the peace plan concerning it, with the obligation to implement the agreement that is reached strictly and consequently,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties shall conduct their relations in accordance with the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter, as well as the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In particular, the Parties shall fully respect the sovereign equality of one another, shall settle disputes by peaceful means, and shall refrain from any action, by

threat or use of force or otherwise, against the territorial integrity or political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any other State.

ARTICLE II

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the military aspects of the peace settlement and aspects of regional stabilization, as set forth in the Agreements at Annex 1-A and Annex 1-B. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made in Annex 1-A, and shall comply fully with their commitments as set forth in Annex 1-B.

ARTICLE III

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the boundary demarcation between the two Entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 2. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

ARTICLE IV

The Parties welcome and endorse the elections program for Bosnia and Herzegovina as set forth in Annex 3. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of that program.

ARTICLE V

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as set forth in Annex 4. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

ARTICLE VI

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the establishment of an arbitration tribunal, a Commission on Human Rights, a Commission on Refugees and Displaced Persons, a Commission to Preserve National Monuments, and Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations, as set forth in the Agreements at Annexes 5–9. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

ARTICLE VII

Recognizing that the observance of human rights and the protection of refugees and displaced persons are of vital importance in achieving a lasting peace, the Parties agree to and shall comply fully with the provisions concerning human rights set forth in Chapter One of the Agreement at Annex 6, as well as the provisions concerning refugees and displaced persons set forth in Chapter One of the Agreement at Annex 7.

ARTICLE VIII

The Parties welcome and endorse the arrangements that have been made concerning the implementation of this peace settlement, including in particular those pertaining to the civilian (non-military) implementation, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 10, and the international police task force, as set forth in the Agreement at Annex 11. The Parties shall fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made therein.

ARTICLE IX

The Parties shall cooperate fully with all entities involved in implementation of this peace settlement, as described in the Annexes to this Agreement, or which are otherwise authorized by the United Nations Security Council, pursuant to the obligation of all Parties to cooperate in the investigation and prosecution of war crimes and other violations of international humanitarian law.

ARTICLE X

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognize each other as sovereign independent States within their international borders. Further aspects of their mutual recognition will be subject to subsequent discussions.

ARTICLE XI

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

DONE at Paris, this [21st] day of [November], 1995, in the Bosnian, Croatian, English and Serbian languages, each text being equally authentic.

For the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

For the Republic of Croatia

For the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Witnessed by:

European Union Special Negotiator

For the French Republic

For the Federal Republic of Germany

For the Russian Federation

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

For the United States of America

Source: U.S. Department of State. General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Available online at <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/or/dayton/52577.htm>

6. President Bill Clinton, Address Following NATO Air Strikes on Yugoslavia, March 24, 1999

On March 24, 1999, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched a military assault on Yugoslavia after diplomatic negotiations with Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic failed to produce an agreement to end the violence between Serbian Yugoslav army forces and ethnic Albanian rebels in the province of Kosovo. The following is the text of President Bill Clinton's televised address to the nation explaining reasons for the action.

My fellow Americans, today our armed forces joined our NATO allies in airstrikes against Serbian forces responsible for the brutality in Kosovo. We have acted with resolve for several reasons.

We act to protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive.

We act to provide a wider war, to defuse a powder keg at the heart of Europe that has exploded twice before in this century with catastrophic results.

We act to stand united with our allies for peace.

By acting now, we are upholding our values, protecting our interests, and advancing the cause of peace.

Tonight I want to speak with you about the tragedy in Kosovo and why it matters to America that we work with our allies to end it.

First, let me explain what it is that we are responding to. Kosovo is a province of Serbia, in the middle of southeastern Europe and about 160 miles east of Italy. That's less than the distance between Washington and New York, and only about 70 miles north of Greece.

Its people are mostly ethnic Albanian and mostly Muslim.

In 1989 Serbia's leader Slobodan Milosevic, the same leader who started the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, and moved against Slovenia in the last decade, stripped Kosovo of the constitutional autonomy its people enjoyed, thus denying them their right to speak their language, run their schools, shape their daily lives. For years, Kosovars struggled peacefully to get their rights back. When President Milosevic sent his troops and police to crush them, the struggle grew violent.

Last fall, our diplomacy, backed by the threat of force from our NATO alliance, stopped the fighting for awhile, and rescued tens of thousands of people from freezing and starvation in the hills where they had fled to save their lives. And last month, with our allies and Russia, we proposed a peace agreement to end the fighting for good. The Kosovar leaders signed that agreement last week.

Even though it does not give them all they want, even though their people were still being savaged, they saw that a just peace is better than a long and unwinnable war.

The Serbian leaders, on the other hand, refused even to discuss key elements of the peace agreement. As the Kosovars were saying yes to peace, Serbia stationed 40,000 troops in and around Kosovo in preparation for a major offensive and in clear violation of the commitments they had made.

Now they've started moving from village to village, shelling civilians and torching their houses. We've seen innocent people taken from their homes, forced to kneel in the dirt and sprayed with bullets. Kosovar men dragged from their families, fathers and sons together, lined up, and shot in cold blood. This is not war in the traditional sense. It is an attack by tanks and artillery on a largely defenseless people, whose leaders already have agreed to peace.

Ending this tragedy is a moral imperative. It is also important to America's national interests. Take a look at this map. Kosovo is a small place, but it sits on a major fault line between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, at the meeting place of Islam and both the Western and Orthodox branches of Christianity.

To the south are our allies, Greece and Turkey. To the north, our new democratic allies in Central Europe. And all around Kosovo, there are other small countries, struggling with their own economic and political challenges, countries that could be overthrown by a large new wave of refugees from Kosovo.

All the ingredients for a major war are there. Ancient grievances, struggling democracies and in the center of it all, a dictator in Serbia who has done nothing since the cold war ended, but start new wars and pour gasoline on the flames of ethnic and religious division.

Sarajevo, the capital of neighboring Bosnia, is where World War I began. World War II and the Holocaust engulfed this region. In both wars Europe was slow to recognize the dangers, and the United States waited even longer to enter the conflicts. Just imagine if leaders back then had acted wisely and early enough, how many lives could have been saved? How many Americans would not have had to die?

We learned some of the same lessons in Bosnia just a few years ago. The world did not act early enough to stop that war either. And let's not forget what happened. Innocent people herded into concentration camps, children gunned down by snipers on their way to school, soccer fields and parks turned into cemeteries. A quarter of a million people killed, not because of anything they had done, but because of who they were. Two million Bosnians became refugees. This was genocide in the heart of Europe, not in 1945, but in 1995. Not in some grainy newsreel from our parents' and grandparents' time, but in our own time, testing our humanity and our resolve.

At the time, many people believed nothing could be done to end the bloodshed in Bosnia. They said, "Well, that's just the way those people in the Balkans are." But when we and our allies joined with courageous Bosnians to

stand up to the aggressors, we helped to end the war. We learned that in the Balkans, inaction in the face of brutality, simply invites brutality. But firmness can stop armies and save lives.

We must apply that lesson in Kosovo, before what happened in Bosnia, happens there, too.

Over the last few months, we have done everything we possibly could to solve this problem peacefully. Secretary Albright has worked tirelessly for a negotiated agreement. Mr. Milosevic has refused.

On Sunday, I sent Ambassador Dick Holbrooke to Serbia to make clear to him again on behalf of the United States and our NATO allies that he must honor his own commitments and stop his repression or face military action. Again, he refused.

Today, we and our 18 NATO allies agreed to do what we said we would do, what we must do to restore the peace. Our mission is clear—to demonstrate the seriousness of NATO's purpose so that the Serbian leaders understand the imperative of reversing course, to deter an even bloodier offensive against innocent civilians in Kosovo and, if necessary, to seriously damage the Serbian military's capacity to harm the people of Kosovo.

In short, if President Milosevic will not make peace, we will limit his ability to make war. Now I want to be clear with you, there are risks in this military action—risk to our pilots and the people on the ground.

Serbia's air defenses are strong. It could decide to intensify its assault on Kosovo, or to seek to harm us or our allies elsewhere. If it does, we will deliver a forceful response.

Hopefully, Mr. Milosevic will realize his present course is self-destructive and unsustainable. If he decides to accept the peace agreement and demilitarize Kosovo, NATO has agreed to help to implement it with a peacekeeping force.

If NATO's invited to do so, our troops should take part in that mission to keep the peace, but I do not intend to put our troops in Kosovo to fight a war.

Do our interests in Kosovo justify the dangers to our armed forces? I thought long and hard about that question. I am convinced that the dangers of acting are far outweighed by the dangers of not acting—dangerous to defenseless people and to our national interests.

If we and our allies were to allow this war to continue with no response, President Milosevic would read our hesitation as a license to kill. There would be many massacres, tens of thousands refugees, victims crying out for revenge.

Right now, our firmness is the only hope the people of Kosovo have to be able to live in their own country, without having to fear for their own lives.

Remember, we asked them to accept peace and they did. We asked them to promise to lay down their arms and they agreed. We pledged that we, the United States and the other 18 nations of NATO would stick by them if they did the right thing. We cannot let them down now.

Imagine what would happen if we and our allies instead decided just to look the other way as these people were massacred on NATO's doorstep. That would discredit NATO, the cornerstone on which our security has rested for 50 years now.

We must also remember that this is a conflict with no natural national boundaries. Let me ask you to look again at a map. The red dots are towns the Serbs have attacked. The arrows show the movement of refugees north, east and south. Already, this movement is threatening the young democracy in Macedonia, which has its own Albanian minority and a Turkish minority.

Already, Serbian forces have made forays into Albania from which Kosovars have drawn support. Albania has a Greek minority. Let a fire burn here in this area, and the flames will spread.

Eventually, key U.S. allies could be drawn into a wider conflict—a war we would be forced to confront later, only at far greater risk and greater cost.

I have a responsibility as president to deal with problems such as this before they do permanent harm to our national interests. America has a responsibility to stand with our allies when they are trying to save innocent lives and preserve peace, freedom and stability in Europe. That is what we are doing in Kosovo.

If we've learned anything from the century drawing to a close, it is that if America is going to be prosperous and secure, we need a Europe that is prosperous, secure, undivided and free.

We need a Europe that is coming together, not falling apart. A Europe that shares our values, and shares the burdens of leadership. That is the foundation on which the security of our children will depend. That is why I have supported the political and economic unification of Europe. That is why we brought Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into NATO, and redefined its mission. And reached out to Russia and Ukraine for new partnerships.

Now what are the challenges to that vision of a peaceful, secure, united, stable Europe? The challenge of strengthening a partnership with a democratic Russia, that despite our disagreements, is a constructive partner in the work of

building peace. The challenge of resolving the tensions between Greece and Turkey, and building bridges with the Islamic world.

And finally, the challenge of ending instability in the Balkans, so that these bitter, ethnic problems in Europe are resolved by the force of argument, not the force of bombs. So that future generations of Americans do not have to cross the Atlantic to fight another terrible war. It is this challenge that we and our allies are facing in Kosovo.

That is why we have acted now—because we care about saving innocent lives, because we have an interest in avoiding an even crueler and costlier war and because our children need and deserve a peaceful, stable, free Europe.

Our thoughts and prayers tonight must be with the men and women of our armed forces, who are undertaking this mission for the sake of our values and our children's future.

May God bless them, and may God bless America.

Source: Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. William J. Clinton, 1999, Book 1. March 24, 1999. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 451–53.

7. Chairman's Statement Issued at the Extraordinary Meeting of Foreign and Defence Ministers of the North Atlantic Council Held at NATO Headquarters Brussels, June 18, 1999

A press release issued by NATO at the conclusion of the Kosovo War in the summer of 1999 served as a final statement confirming the defeat of Serbia's ambitions to ethnically cleanse Kosovo and repress the province's claims to autonomy. It also stated publicly what NATO's expectations were for Serbian compliance, given the comprehensive nature of the defeat suffered by Slobodan Milosevic's forces.

1. In Kosovo the will of the international community has prevailed by achieving the withdrawal of FRY security forces, thus bringing to an end the brutal campaign of repression and ethnic cleansing. NATO has played a vital role in achieving this outcome. The Alliance pays tribute to the men and women of Operation Allied Force for the courage and commitment they have displayed.

2. NATO's objectives, which are those of the international community, are unchanged: the complete withdrawal of FRY military, police and paramilitary forces from Kosovo; an end to all violence; the unconditional and safe return of all refugees and displaced persons and unhindered access to them by humanitarian aid organisations; and the establishment of a political framework agreement based on the Rambouillet accords. NATO is determined to fulfil its promise that the people of Kosovo can return to their homes and live in security and without fear. Allies are appalled by the mounting evidence of atrocities committed in Kosovo. They are cooperating actively with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in order to bring to justice those responsible for atrocities and war crimes. A durable peace in Kosovo must be founded on justice and the rule of law.
3. To achieve these objectives, KFOR, with NATO at its core, is deploying rapidly into Kosovo, as authorised by the UN Security Council acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
4. The Alliance is determined to help create a peaceful, multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo within the FRY. KFOR will operate in an impartial and even-handed manner in carrying out its mandate. NATO will help the people of Kosovo build democratic institutions and a civil society based on respect for the human rights of all Kosovars on an equal basis, regardless of their ethnic or religious background. As the first, immediate steps in reaching this goal, NATO expects:
 - o the FRY authorities to complete the full withdrawal of their security forces in accordance with the timetable set out in the Military Technical Agreement between NATO and the FRY;
 - o the KLA and other armed groups in Kosovo to cooperate fully with KFOR, refrain from any violence and particularly any provocations against departing Serb forces, avoid any actions which would impede the establishment of the UN-led civil administration, fulfil their obligations for demilitarisation under UNSCR 1244, and respect the human rights of all peoples in Kosovo.
 - o KFOR will not tolerate any challenges to its authority or intimidation of any of the people of Kosovo.
5. The Alliance welcomes the commitments made by its Partners and other interested nations to participate in KFOR.

6. NATO looks forward to the participation of the Russian Federation in KFOR within a unified chain of command. Allies are confident that arrangements will be found that will allow Russian and NATO forces to work together to bring peace and stability to all peoples in Kosovo. NATO and its member countries remain ready to resume consultations and full cooperation in the framework of the NATO-Russia Founding Act.
7. KFOR will work to create a secure environment in which the UN-led civil administration and international agencies can work unhindered. NATO welcomes the early establishment of the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) and intends to cooperate closely with it together with the OSCE and the EU. Allies call upon all peoples of Kosovo to recognise the authority of and cooperate fully with UNMIK. The Alliance is assisting the UNHCR and non-governmental organisations in the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes. Allies will be cooperating closely with the UN Mine Action Service and other international organisations and NGOs on mine awareness and clearance activities, with the aim of ensuring a safe environment for the return of refugees and for the conduct of the civil mission. Allies look forward to cooperating closely with all these organisations in bringing lasting peace and security to Kosovo.
8. The Alliance reiterates the great importance attached by Heads of State and Government in Washington to the stability of Montenegro's democratically elected government.
9. Stability in South Eastern Europe is a priority for member governments. The Alliance will not allow the Belgrade regime to destabilise the neighbouring states of the FRY. Belgrade's actions have inflicted enormous hardship on the countries of the region. NATO pays tribute in particular to the governments of Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for their handling of the massive influx of refugees. NATO also expresses its appreciation to the governments of Bulgaria and Romania for the support they have given to preserving stability in the region. The Alliance will work with all Partner countries to address the problems of the region. Allies are cooperating through NATO's initiative for South Eastern Europe to support the nations of this region in forging a better future based on democracy, justice, security cooperation, economic development and integration. NATO supports the EU Stabilisation Pact for South East Europe and the regional cooperation efforts of the countries in the region. The objective of a stable South Eastern Europe cannot be assured until the FRY achieves democracy

and respects the rights of all minorities, including those in Vojvodina and Sandjak.

In the Washington Declaration, Allied Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law on which the Alliance is founded and expressed their vision for the Alliance of the 21st century. NATO's actions in Kosovo are an expression of this commitment and vision.

Source: The situation in and around Kosovo: Chairman's statement issued at the Extraordinary Meeting of Foreign and Defence Ministers of the North Atlantic Council held at NATO Headquarters Brussels on June 18, 1999. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27427.htm?selectedLocale=en

8. U.S. House of Representatives Resolution 109 “Expressing the Sense of the House Regarding the Massacre at Srebrenica in July, 1995,” Adopted June 27, 2005, and U.S. Senate Resolution 134, Adopted May 9, 2005

One month before the 10th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, both houses of the United States Congress passed resolutions asserting that Bosnian Serb policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing during the Bosnian War constituted genocide. On June 27, 2005, during the 109th Congress, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution (H. Res. 199 sponsored by Congressman Christopher Smith with 39 cosponsors) commemorating the 10th anniversary of Srebrenica. The resolution was passed with an overwhelming majority of 370–1, with 62 absent. In the Senate, S.Res.134 was sponsored by Senator Gordon Smith and agreed to unanimously on June 22, 2005. The resolutions were published on June 27, 2005.

Whereas in July 1995 thousands of men and boys who had sought safety in the United Nations–designated “safe area” of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were massacred by Serb forces operating in that country;

Whereas beginning in April 1992, aggression and ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Bosnian Serb forces, while taking control of the surrounding territory, resulted in a massive influx of Bosniaks seeking protection in Srebrenica and its

environs, which the United Nations Security Council designated a “safe area” in Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993;

Whereas the UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica consisted of a Dutch peacekeeping battalion, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the humanitarian medical aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) helping to provide humanitarian relief to the displaced population living in conditions of massive overcrowding, destitution, and disease;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces blockaded the enclave early in 1995, depriving the entire population of humanitarian aid and outside communication and contact, and effectively reducing the ability of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion to deter aggression or otherwise respond effectively to a deteriorating situation;

Whereas beginning on July 6, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked UNPROFOR outposts, seized control of the isolated enclave, held captured Dutch soldiers hostage and, after skirmishes with local defenders, ultimately took control of the town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995;

Whereas an estimated one-third of the population of Srebrenica, including a relatively small number of soldiers, made a desperate attempt to pass through the lines of Bosnian Serb forces to the relative safety of Bosnian-held territory, but many were killed by patrols and ambushes;

Whereas the remaining population sought protection with the Dutch peacekeeping battalion at its headquarters in the village of Potocari north of Srebrenica but many of these individuals were randomly seized by Bosnian Serb forces to be beaten, raped, or executed;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces deported women, children, and the elderly in buses, held Bosniak males over 16 years of age at collection points and sites in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, and then summarily executed and buried the captives in mass graves;

Whereas approximately 20 percent of Srebrenica’s total population at the time—at least 7,000 and perhaps thousands more—was either executed or killed;

Whereas the United Nations and its member states have largely acknowledged their failure to take actions and decisions that could have deterred the assault on Srebrenica and prevented the subsequent massacre;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces, hoping to conceal evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, subsequently moved corpses from initial mass grave sites to many secondary sites scattered throughout parts of northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control;

Whereas the massacre at Srebrenica was among the worst of many horrible atrocities to occur in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, during which the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, an estimated 200,000 killed, tens of thousands raped or otherwise tortured and abused, and the innocent civilians of Sarajevo and other urban centers repeatedly subjected to shelling and sniper attacks;

Whereas Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (done at Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force with respect to the United States on February 23, 1989) defines genocide as ‘any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group;

Whereas on May 25, 1993, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 827 establishing the world’s first international war crimes tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and charging the ICTY with responsibility for investigating and prosecuting individuals suspected of committing war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991;

Whereas nineteen individuals at various levels of responsibility have been indicted, and in some cases convicted, for grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, genocide, and complicity in genocide associated with the massacre at Srebrenica, three of whom, most notably Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, remain at large; and

Whereas the international community, including the United States, has continued to provide personnel and resources, including through direct military intervention, to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initialed in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

- (1) the thousands of innocent people executed at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1995, along with all individuals who were victimized during the conflict and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, should be solemnly remembered and honored;
- (2) the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;
- (3) foreign nationals, including United States citizens, who have risked and in some cases lost their lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina while working toward peace should be solemnly remembered and honored;
- (4) the United Nations and its member states should accept their share of responsibility for allowing the Srebrenica massacre and genocide to occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 by failing to take sufficient, decisive, and timely action, and the United Nations and its member states should constantly seek to ensure that this failure is not repeated in future crises and conflicts;
- (5) it is in the national interest of the United States that those individuals who are responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave

- breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be held accountable for their actions;
- (6) all persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) should be apprehended and transferred to The Hague without further delay, and all countries should meet their obligations to cooperate fully with the ICTY at all times; and
 - (7) the United States should continue to support the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity, as well as to know the fate of missing relatives and friends.

Source: H. Res. 199 (June 27, 2005) and SRES 134 ATS (May 9, 2005). Available online at <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/hres199/text>

9. Interview with “Amer,” Genocide Survivor, July 31, 2012

In July 1995 the eastern Bosnian city of Srebrenica became the scene of the greatest massacre on European soil since the Holocaust. Both Srebrenica and its neighbor, Zepa, had been guaranteed by the United Nations as “safe areas,” but the reality was anything but safe for those living there. Amer, who spent much of the war alternating between the two towns, was one of the survivors of the siege and betrayal of these locations. Now a taxicab driver in Melbourne, Australia, this is the first time his account has been related in any format.

I was born in 1973, in the village of Godomilje, a small community in eastern Bosnia within the municipality of Rogatica—between the cities of Višegrad and Zepa. Before the war in 1992, the population was about 80 percent Serbian and 20 percent Muslim. As far as I can remember, there were no Croats in the town. The community was thoroughly integrated; we went to the same schools together and did not see any real differences between us.

I finished high school at the age of 18 and should have gone into the army for my national service year, but because of the war I held back from joining the army. I went and hid when they came for me. We all had an idea that something bad was going to happen. In 1991 Yugoslavia was starting to collapse, and war

was taking place between the Serbs and Croatia. The government in Belgrade gave the Bosnian Serbs weapons to help the fight against Croatia, and many volunteered to go and fight.

In April 1992, Borike, a small town about twenty kilometres from Rogatica, was the first community the Chetniks began to infiltrate. The Serbs were heavily supplied with guns, uniforms, bullets—everything they would need as an army of occupation. Living in the general district between Zepa and Godomilje, we were very worried. We knew we would be targets if we stayed where we were, so we went undercover and lived in the bush. We would only come back to the village for food, when we could be sure the Chetniks weren't around. When they finally did come into our village and took over—under the command of Captain Rajko Kusic and four other officers—they demanded that the villagers hand over all the guns and weapons in the village. Of course, there was hardly anything there, just a few rifles for hunting. In the hills, watching what was happening, we saw a huge pall of smoke coming from the direction of the village around 4:00 in the afternoon. Our house, and that of other Muslims in the village, had been destroyed. From then onward we had no other option but to sleep in the forest.

My parents were with me throughout all this. My dad found the whole thing confusing, because we knew that those who had handed over their weapons, or stayed, were killed anyway. It was a good lesson for us: there could be no opportunity for compromising or negotiating with the Chetniks, because whatever we did could only have one possible outcome.

We made it to Zepa on June 4, 1992. During the second half of 1992, and then throughout 1993, the Serbs surrounded Zepa with tanks and troops. It became difficult to supply the city, because Serbs surrounded all approaches. It was next to impossible for us to break through to help the city, as we only had hunting guns and hardly any ammunition. We had maybe twenty bullets, if that. Our aim was to provide local protection for Zepa, but our effectiveness was limited. I was on duty to guard against a Serb attack, whenever I was needed; day or night, it didn't matter. I worked both shifts. We sure couldn't mount an offensive or anything like that. The Serbs never took the city until July 1995, but that was because of the UN troops giving in, not because we lost the city ourselves.

In 1992 I went over the mountains to Srebrenica, with my parents. We found sanctuary in a house that had previously been Serbian on the outskirts of the city. The previous residents had fled to Serbia, and left their house empty. I then alternated between Srebrenica and Zepa for the rest of the war.

Srebrenica is close to the border between Bosnia and Serbia, near to the Drina River. Because of its location it was very difficult to feed the city. There was hardly any food there. Between 1992 and 1995 I did not see any sweets, candies—or salt. The main way we got food was to pinch it from farms around the local area. In February and March of 1993 NATO planes made food drops which contained small lunch boxes, but this was never enough because more people kept flocking into Srebrenica as refugees.

In April 1993 the United Nations declared Srebrenica and Zepa to be “safe havens,” and peacekeepers from Ukraine were sent to protect Zepa. We considered them to be totally corrupt. We felt betrayed by the United Nations, and in particular French general Philippe Morillon who was in command of the UN troops, because he did not give a true report to the UN of what was happening at Srebrenica. They made money out of selling things to the civilians—their uniforms, their boots (200 Deutschmarks), coffee (100 Deutschmarks for a kilo), gasoline, stove tops on which the civilians could cook, and many other things. They would help themselves to the humanitarian convoys, and then sell items to the population. This, of course, made it even harder to feed the people. There was no work of any kind, so the only way to supplement our lives was through offering our labor on local farms in exchange for food.

In June 1995 a Ukrainian officer told me that the fall of Zepa was imminent, and that the UN troops would be unable to prevent it. He anticipated that the Serb forces were about to occupy the town. We had nowhere to go, and although we tried to get away by going up to a hill above the town, we watched as nearly 5,000 Serbian soldiers and paramilitary groups entered and took over Srebrenica. There were 500 men in our group, but we were underequipped and unable to do anything to stop the occupation. The only bonus for us was that while we couldn't hit the Chetniks, we thought they couldn't get at us, either.

This was until my cousin, Mujo Durmisevic, was shot and killed just ten metres away from me. He had tried to show us where cover could be found, and was hit by Serbian grenades. We panicked, and everyone ran deeper into the bush. I ran about 600–700 metres, and saw a friend of mine who had been shot up. He was dead, his stomach and guts hanging out. Throughout all this time, the UN troops were not helping; we heard that they were back in Zepa, drinking with the Serbian army.

The commander of the Bosnian government forces in Zepa throughout the siege was Colonel Avdo Palic. When the Serbs, commanded by General Ratko Mladic, finally took over the town in July 1995, Palic tried to negotiate a

settlement with the Serbs that would protect civilians. We were still hiding in the forest, but Mladic showed that he was not interested in negotiating. He had Palic murdered. The time we gained through the negotiation helped us to get away, however. We tried to circle around the Serbs and reach more established Bosniak positions. The women and children remained in the town, however, under Chetnik control.

We remained in the bush for five days, before we were ordered to go to the Red Cross for sanctuary and a possible population exchange. During this time my brother-in-law was severely wounded, shot in both legs. Nevertheless, we took him with us, as we crossed the Drina into Serbia—in my case, as I could not swim, clutching a plank of wood. Dead bodies were in the water all around us. Others made the crossing over the next ten days; some people remained in the forest, in some cases for up to four months.

Soon after I crossed the river, a Serb soldier on a hill saw us and leveled his gun in our direction. Motioning for us to remain where we were, we put our hands on our heads and waited for other Serbian troops to come. One guy, who didn't act as instantly as the Serbs demanded, was shot right there, in front of us. There were fourteen of us, and we had been arrested by members of the White Eagles paramilitary group. They took us to a camp. Once we arrived there, one of them said angrily, "I fucked your mother," and began to bash and hit us. Another asked us, "How many people have you killed?" after which two more of us were shot dead on the spot.

After two-and-a-half hours of this, radio orders came in that we were to move to Jagostice. By now we were a group of about 20. One of the Chetniks said, "No, I'm going to kill them all here, now," though luckily he didn't do it. What we did have to do, however, was crouch down with our hands on our heads and hop along like ducks. He said that if he touched any of us on the shoulder and we fell over, he would shoot us. At random, he then said "I'll kill number 17." This was our friend Semso Hodzic, who was then beaten. He wasn't killed, though.

On 2 August, when we came to the school where they were taking us, everyone had to take off their clothes and give up anything that could be considered valuable—especially our watches and any gold or money we had. We had to run a gauntlet of beatings for maybe half an hour. Robbed of everything I had, I was then beaten again. I lost consciousness and was in a state of shock for some time after I came to. At around 2:00 or 3:00 a.m., they woke us up with more beatings and the barking of vicious guard dogs. By 7:00 am they brought

up covered army trucks that could hold maybe 20 people. They packed 40 of us into this space, and we set off to who knew where. One man died on the journey. At about midday we stopped and were ordered down from the trucks. We came to a camp at Slivovica, where we remained for five days. Here, we were subjected to continuous interrogations. I was questioned for two or three hours for each of the next two nights, beaten all the time. All the men were tortured and one man I knew, who went into the camp weighing about 120 kilos came out a month later at maybe 60 kilos. Myself, I went from 91 kilos to 65 kilos in the same period.

After our time in Slivovica, we were sent to a camp at Mitrovo Polje, where I was to spend the rest of the war. This was one of many camps in Serbia—not in Bosnia, but in Serbia itself. We traveled all night, were beaten throughout the trip, and as soon as I arrived I was hit hard on the chest. Immediately I felt one of my ribs break. As I fell, the guard also hit me hard on the back of my neck with a heavy piece of wood. I couldn't move for a month after this.

Again, questioning all night, every night. Every person was given a Serbian name, to replace their Muslim name. To the guards, I became "Novak." They also demanded that we sing Chetnik nationalistic war songs.

I remained in that camp until March 1996, three months after the war ended. I had been registered with the Red Cross as a prisoner back in August 1995 and was on a list to be sent to Denmark, but when the Red Cross representative came to the camp nothing happened. It seemed to him as though I was being looked after, but after he left I was beaten again, as the Serbs accused me of complaining about my treatment.

In January 1996 the repatriation and release process began, and people began to leave the camp. I didn't leave. It turned out that Denmark didn't want to take me, after all. In April 1996, though, I made it back to Zvornik in a prisoner exchange, not far from where my journey began four years earlier.

Source: Interview, Paul R. Bartrop and Amer, July 31, 2012, Melbourne, Australia. Used by permission.

10. ICTY President Theodor Meron Updates the UN Security Council on the Completion Strategy, June 3, 2015

In June 2015, as the ad hoc International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) seemed to be approaching its date for winding up, Judge Theodor Meron of the United States, the president of the tribunal, gave his

thoughts on the ICTY's achievements and future, in a briefing to the UN Security Council. Principally, he explained that although the tribunal was close to a successful conclusion, there were still matters standing in the way, notably the health (often deteriorating health) of certain defendants and the ability of the tribunal to retain qualified staff looking to their own future knowing that the tribunal would soon be coming to an end. He called upon the Security Council to continue to lend its support to the tribunal at this late stage, especially given that its work was so close to completion.

PRESS Release

The Hague, 3 June 2015

CS/PR1625e

The Tribunal's President, Judge Theodor Meron, today updated the United Nations Security Council on the achievements of the ICTY over the past six months and the challenges the Tribunal has faced in the completion of its mandate.

The President provided an update on the ICTY's completion of its remaining trials and appeals. President Meron described how, in 2015, the Appeals Chamber had rendered two judgments—in the large, multi-accused *Popović et al* case and in the complex *Tolimir* case. He noted that by the end of this year, the forecasts provided by presiding Judges indicate that the ICTY will have completed its work on all but two trials and two appeals.

The President explained that although the Tribunal's work is progressing, it has faced various challenges that have led to delays in trial and appeal cases. The President reassured the Council that, while various cases have suffered delays, the last cases are still expected to be completed in 2017 as predicted in the ICTY's previous forecasts.

President Meron went on to describe in more detail two major challenges that the Tribunal is facing in the completion of its work: the health of certain defendants and the retention of Tribunal staff. He observed that the *Hadžić* trial was currently adjourned for reasons relating to the defendant's health and that the *Mladić* trial has been limited to four sitting-days per week following medical advice.

President Meron explained that while adverse health developments involving defendants are, by their nature, difficult to predict, "*Judges sitting on the*

benches in the affected cases make every effort to limit delays linked to these factors, while ensuring that the Tribunal meets its obligation to provide detainees with appropriate medical care....”

The President then drew attention to the challenge of staff attrition, particularly among mid-level and senior-level members of legal drafting teams assigned to support the work of the Judges, and its potential impact on the Tribunal’s judgment delivery forecasts. President Meron noted that all possible steps have been taken in order to address this challenge, underscoring that “the Tribunal must continue and redouble its efforts to adopt strategies that reduce any delays in ongoing cases to a minimum ...”

President Meron concluded by discussing the Tribunal’s groundbreaking work. The President underscored the material effect that increased worldwide support for international criminal tribunals has had on the conduct of war and on reducing the suffering of those affected by conflict. He reflected that “*the Tribunal’s contributions to ending impunity for international crimes continue to serve as a momentous symbol of the international community’s commitment to bringing justice for crimes committed in the Yugoslav wars, and to the laudable aim of preventing grave crimes, like those that hang so heavily in any historical account of the past century, from being committed again.*”

Source: United Nations. Press Release: President Meron updates the UN Security Council on the Completion Strategy. June 3, 2015. Available online at <http://www.icty.org/sid/11653>. Used by permission of the United Nations.

The Bosnian Genocide: Historical Dilemmas

This section is intended to introduce students and researchers to one of the key historical questions regarding the Bosnian genocide, offering different perspectives on how the issue might be tackled. It shows readers not only how scholars utilize evidence to present their respective arguments, but how certain topics in the study of genocide continue to be debated.

QUESTION:

Was the international community justified in not initially taking military action to prevent ethnic cleansing in Bosnia?

Introduction

Despite the knowledge of genocidal incidents in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1990s, the international community's response did not quell Serbian and Bosnian Serbian actions immediately. The United States, the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the United Nations (UN) responded cautiously to events in Bosnia, leading Bosniaks to suffer displacement, massacres, and war crimes while the Bosnian War raged.

However, as Bosnian Serb violence against Muslims became more severe, international actions, in the form of sending UN peacekeepers, NATO bombings of key positions, and international sanctions and condemnations, became more frequent. Nonetheless, these actions were arguably a case of “too little, too late,”

as the ethnic cleansing campaign enacted by Serb and Serb-affiliated forces in Bosnia had achieved many of its objectives by the time peace came in 1995.

The international community's initial lukewarm response to events in Bosnia was indicative of its own interests in the region. As it became apparent that Serbian ethnic cleansing campaigns were aimed at the potential removal of an entire group, the international community, led by the United States and the EU, finally acted. Given the foreign policy interests of the major world powers, there was little incentive to act. Direct intervention finally came when Serb ethnic cleansing policies became far too extreme to overlook. However, it raises the following question: Was the international community justified in not initially taking military action to prevent ethnic cleansing in Bosnia?

In her Perspective essay, Mary Hampton argues that the international response to the breakup of Yugoslavia was "slow but unsure." Hampton explains that as the post-Cold War world began to take form, the major powers were reluctant to engage in Europe's Balkan region. Assumptions about the role of other powers or the United Nations, as well as a lack of national interests in the region, led to hesitation on the part of the United States and the EU. Involvement came later as things rapidly escalated to the point of genocide.

By way of contrast, Brian G. Smith's Perspective essay argues that the international community's involvement in Bosnia was limited. Complex questions over military intervention tied the hands of the major powers and the UN. While a more timely response could have halted the worst of the violence, caution and hesitancy held back the United States, the EU, and NATO from acting in a timely fashion. By the time military intervention took place, ethnic cleansing policies had already taken a significant toll on the Bosniak population.

Lastly, in his Perspective essay, Henry Carey discusses how, despite the United States being able and willing to become more involved in the Bosnian situation, domestic politics had a significant impact on the Clinton administration's reluctance to be more proactive amid the crisis. While President Clinton and others considered more concerted U.S. action in the region, political considerations at home ultimately took precedence and led to a delayed response.

Perspective 1: Justifying Delayed Western Military Intervention in Bosnia

The international response to the violent breakup of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s was slow but unsure. The ongoing Yugoslav wars that started in 1991 represented one of the first international crises of the emerging post-Cold War

world, and the first to occur in Europe. It is therefore no surprise that immediate military action was not taken by the international community. Samantha Power and many others have argued that the international community, especially the United States and Europe, “stood by” while approximately 200,000 Bosnians were killed and another 2 million were displaced. A number of factors contributed to the delayed decision by the international community to employ military force to halt ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, where the process of Serb-targeted violence against and displacement of Croats, but especially against Bosnian Muslims, began in late 1991. The reasons for the delayed response were hard to justify morally, but politically and strategically justifiable based on the realities of a radically altered international security environment that were as of yet underdefined for the United States, Europe, and Russia.

In the early moments of the post–Cold War era, the parameters of great power interest and the boundaries of their spheres of influence were not known and were in flux in 1991 when Slovenia and then Croatia declared independence. There was no consensus in Europe concerning the political and security roles of the newly emerging European Union, whose restated mission included political and security policy coordination. The lack of international consensus regarding the post–Cold War security role of the UN, and the concomitant absence of a clearly defined post–Cold War mission for NATO, were key elements in the less-than-successful initial international response to the unfolding nightmare of ethnic cleansing and brutality in Bosnia. In short, Yugoslavia’s eruption into civil and then transnational war was an early and severe aftershock of the Cold War’s collapse. The international community had no blueprints, guidelines, or courses of action (COA) prepared for responding to the wars and accompanying brutal practices of ethnic cleansing with military force.

The first factor that contributed to the outbreak of war in Yugoslavia and the delayed international response to abuses in Bosnia was the collapse of the bipolar Cold War international order. The Soviet Union and the United States had managed a world divided into two blocs for a half century. By the end of the 1950s, the United States and the West basically ceded Eastern and Central Europe to Soviet dominance. Although Yugoslavia remained somewhat of an outlier because of the uncanny capability of its national leader, Tito, to maintain Yugoslav interests largely independent of Soviet penetration, it was still considered within the Soviet sphere of influence. Further, Russia and then the Soviet Union long considered itself the guardian of Slav identity and interests, a phenomenon that underscored Soviet interest and influence especially in Serbia.

Partly for these reasons, the George H. W. Bush administration was not interested in intervening in what it determined to be a domestic political situation as Yugoslavia began imploding in 1991 with war breaking out between the Serbs and Croats, and Bosnian strife looming. Secretary of State James Baker famously opined that the United States had “no dog in this fight,” a colloquialism broadcasting that American interests were not in play.

The Bush administration also kept its distance from the emerging crisis in Yugoslavia because the end of the Cold War witnessed the formal emergence of the EU in 1992 and a wide-eyed optimistic belief by many that Europe could now handle events in its own backyard. For advocates in Europe, the demise of the Cold War opened new opportunities for managing European affairs independently of U.S. heavy influence. The breakup of Yugoslavia seemed to offer Europe the chance to take responsibility for events on the continent. Jacques Poos, then foreign minister of Luxembourg and an activist for European unity, stated: “This is the hour of Europe.” Further: “It is not the hour of the Americans.” The fact was, however, that there actually was no European consensus on how to respond to the situation in the dissolving Yugoslavia. There was no EU military force, and no EU concerted policy emerged. Yet, because of claims such as that of Poos, Power observes: “The United States happily stepped aside.” A leadership vacuum therefore prevailed in the West.

The other two institutions that could have responded with military force to halt ethnic cleansing were the UN and NATO. The UN did in fact act, but it acted by sending peacekeepers, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), into a situation that required a different response. While UN peacekeepers, backed by the European states, attempted to protect “safe areas” that were declared, and to protect humanitarian aid being sent to Bosnians from abroad, they often found themselves standing helpless while violence continued, and at one point in 1994, were themselves taken hostage by the Serbs.

In the face of ineffective UN protection and nonexistent U.S. and EU military intervention, the institution that might have made a real difference in halting Serb aggression was NATO. But the fact was that NATO members were the very same states that could not bring themselves to intervene militarily. During 1994 and early in 1995, NATO air strikes were used in a limited capacity to try and deter Serb behavior, but they did not stop Serb aggression. Not until August of 1995, in the aftermath of the massacre of between 6,000 and 8,000 Bosnian Muslims at Srebrenica by Serb forces, the worst in Europe since World War II, and the fact that Croat and Bosnian ground forces were actually

beginning to have some success in repelling Serb forces, did the Bill Clinton administration decide the time had come to put NATO's reputation on the line. The administration advocated successfully for a NATO military campaign of bombing Serb targets. The campaign was named Operation DELIBERATE FORCE and was instrumental in halting the war and leading to the Dayton Peace talks of December 1995.

In conclusion, the use of military force is not decided upon and employed lightly by democracies. The pooled resources and collective decision making necessary for international organizations to employ military force is even more difficult. While the norm of intervention into the affairs of sovereign states on behalf of human rights has been gaining in credibility and acceptance since the horrible abuses of the Holocaust began coming to light in 1945, there was certainly no Western consensus in 1992 concerning when to use military force and how to stop ethnic cleansing. The fact that it took the West until 1995 to construct an effective military response to the cleansing being carried out by the Serbs was morally shameful, but understandable and even justified given the complexities created by the conflict in the wider context of the undefined post-Cold War international order.

Mary Hampton

Perspective 2: Limited Intervention by the International Community

The international community's response to the Bosnian War and the Yugoslav wars in general was one of limited intervention. Not until the fall of 1995 did the intervention escalate to large-scale bombing. Large numbers of new ground forces were put in place only after the Dayton Accords. Would an early overwhelming military intervention been more legal, moral, and wise than limited intervention? On each point, the international community was justified in not taking early overwhelming military action against the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia.

Among scholars of international law, there is an ongoing debate concerning the legality of humanitarian military intervention in the face of genocidal acts and human rights atrocities. The legal debate is murky, at best. There are many contradictory elements of the UN charter concerning when force may be used, the inviolability of sovereignty, and a requirement to promote human rights. Much of the debate boils down to the requirements to respect the sovereignty of states enshrined in much of the UN Charter versus the human rights elements of the Charter and the requirements to prevent and punish genocide through proper

UN channels under the 1948 Genocide Convention. Since the genocides of the 1990s, the UN and human rights organizations have attempted to put in place the “Responsibility to Protect” as a suggested change to international conventions that would eliminate the legal questions, allowing for intervention when a sovereign state fails to protect its own citizens from avoidable atrocities like mass murder, rape, and orchestrated starvation. Without such an additional treaty being agreed to, even limited military intervention can be seen as pushing the bounds of what is legally justified, let alone overwhelming military intervention on behalf of one side in a conflict.

Setting aside questions of international law, was the delay in using heavy NATO air power to intervene in the Bosnian civil war justified from the standpoint of morality? Most war-related theories of morality are based on some version of Just War Doctrine, which describes when countries are morally justified in going to war. Most modern Just War Doctrine focuses on self-defense as the only morally justifiable cause of war. Humanitarian military intervention rests on the assumption that the morality of self-defense can be extended to the citizens of other countries when their own governments cannot provide protection or are themselves supporting or committing genocide. That assumption sets aside the critical ethical question of interventions undermining the international order, which is designed to prevent war. This is further complicated by the lack of universal agreement as to the principles under which states would have the moral duty to intervene. Finally, some have moral reservations about the financial cost of constant military intervention compared to the greater amount of death and suffering that could be avoided by using the same financial investment to combat chronic health and hunger problems.

The moral desire to protect civilians during extreme situations is clear. The goal of any intervention would be to reduce civilian deaths and atrocities. Many organizations and states are attempting to create a moral norm mandating the duty to intervene in a way that does not undermine overall global peace and security. This approach assumes that no response at all would be morally unjustifiable given current capacities to intervene and the modern potential for timely information gathering that can alert the international community to ongoing mass atrocities. However, the use of overwhelming military power in response to a multisided civil war that included ethnic cleansing of both city neighborhoods and entire regions could not guarantee fewer casualties or atrocities. Simply put, an unrestrained military invasion by hundreds of thousands of NATO troops moving to secure every location at the same time

within a country with indefinite occupation by ground forces attempting to keep the peace through violence would not necessarily have produced a more moral outcome judged by death and suffering to civilians.

Even if we assume nonintervention is morally unjustifiable, limited intervention cannot be considered morally unjustified. Limited ground forces from the UN mission in Croatia moved into Bosnia before the fighting even started. An arms embargo was put into place as an attempt to avoid escalation. Numerous cease-fires were brokered through constant and active diplomacy. As early as May 1992, the UN imposed broad economic, travel, and financial sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was supporting the actions of the Serbs in Bosnia as leverage to reach a negotiated end to the war. Five major safe haven cities were established in 1993 with limited air power in support of the vulnerable UN troops on the ground. Military force was used to create safe corridors for civilians fleeing active areas of the war. Aid convoys and airlifts were ongoing throughout the civil war, along with aid workers on the ground, protecting the lives of millions of people directly affected by the war and ethnic cleansing. In May 1993, a special international criminal tribunal was created as pressure to minimize atrocities by holding individuals responsible for any war crimes and crimes against humanity committed during the war. Some of these efforts had perverse effects, such as possibly aiding the process of ethnic cleansing. Others can be considered clear failures in execution or concept. None of them can be considered a morally unjustified failure to act.

Finally, was the decision by the international community to avoid early overwhelming military intervention a wise one? A consideration of efficacy of military action requires consideration of the political ends to which the military action is seen as the means. In early 1992, overwhelming military intervention would have required an enormous commitment of ground forces, created intense hostility from Russia and China, and involved peace enforcement over a resisting population. The intervention would have come at a time when the international community was intensely concerned over instability in the recently collapsed Soviet Union and had doubts about expanding the role of NATO. The wisdom of such an approach is at least in doubt, a different choice being at least justifiable.

When NATO applied overwhelming air power in 1995, the situation was quite different. The international community had brokered an alliance between the Bosnian government and the Croats. The Croatian military had obtained equipment and had received training in NATO tactical doctrine through the

hiring of retired U.S. officers working for an American private consulting firm. Economic sanctions on Serbia had destabilized President Slobodan Milosevic's regime, pressuring him to cut off aid to the Bosnian Serbs and creating a willingness to reach a negotiated peace agreement. The Bosnian Serb forces fractured after the Croatian army quickly overran Serbian-held Krajina in Croatia in early August 1995, ethnically cleansing 200,000 Serbs from Croatia in the process. The effectiveness of the increased intervention did not rest simply on newfound political will.

The international community was justified in not initially taking overwhelming military action as a means to put an end to the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. This does not mean that delay is always justified. There is a tendency to move to extreme positions concerning the efficacy of humanitarian military intervention. At one extreme, there can be too much of an assumption that military interventions can provide a quick and moral conclusion to atrocities. At the other extreme, there is a tendency to support never intervening anywhere due to the inability to intervene everywhere in the world every time there is a crisis. Humanitarian military intervention can only be judged as legal, moral, and wise on a case-by-case basis that does not ignore the individual realities of an emergent conflict.

Brian G. Smith

Perspective 3: Understandable, Predictable, and Unjustified

While understandable, the international community's failure to prevent the Bosnian genocide is not morally or legally justified, given the importance of the United Nations (UN) Genocide Convention's requirement that genocide be halted, and given the some 200,000 dead civilians and 2 million displaced by the intention to destroy in whole or in part the Bosnian Muslim population. However, it was entirely predictable. Various decisions from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (such as the *Krstic*, and *Popovic et al.* cases) established that criminal acts of genocide occurred. The judgment of the International Court of Justice (*Bosnia v. Serbia*, 2007) also established that genocide occurred in Bosnia, with Serbia guilty of failing to prevent the genocide (though not guilty of direct collaboration).

The four-year delay in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and U.S. interventions is understandable, consistent with the principle of political realism that states only intervene militarily in their national interest. No state, including the United States in particular, had ever before intervened to stop

genocide. The UN, NATO, and the United States all faced a much more difficult challenge in Bosnia than in the 1994 humanitarian intervention that did occur in Haiti and could have, but did not, occur in Rwanda. If the international community was reluctant in Rwanda, then it would only be more reluctant to face a more ferocious opponent on the ground in Bosnia, even if the latter held more strategic value to the West, which dominates the so-called international community. Still, it can be demonstrated that halting genocide, and the war that facilitated it, in the heart of Europe was in the self-interest of NATO and the United States. However, fear of casualties and the “CNN effect,” following the October 1993 “Black Hawk Down” incident in Somalia, which led to the deaths of nearly two dozen U.S. helicopter pilots and the subsequent U.S. withdrawal from Somalia, made intervention a difficult prospect. The consequent, increased perceived political risks to the United States from humanitarian intervention were realized only one week later, which led to the aborted U.S. Canadian peacekeeping mission in Haiti that had been sanctioned by the UN as part of the UN-mediated, Governor’s Island peace plan of July 1993. It was only the political embarrassment resulting from these two failures in Somalia and Haiti that President Bill Clinton decided to intervene in Haiti in 1994 and in Bosnia in a small way at about the same time, before undertaking decisive action—though with no U.S. troops on the ground in Bosnia a year later.

The belated interventions by NATO in June–August 1995 and by Croatia in retaking the Western Krajina region of Bosnia, induced the Dayton Peace Agreement of November 1995, which ended the war and the genocide. The intervention was motivated as much by security concerns as humanitarian ones. Neither the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), nor the United States under President Clinton, nor NATO, led by the United States, were willing and able to take significant military action until 1995 and only minimal military action until 1994, years after the genocide began.

Part of this delay was attributable to what turned out to be unsuccessful peace negotiations which could have also halted the genocide, but they, primarily the U.S.-British Vance-Owen initiative, were also not undertaken in earnest until 1993. There were also economic and military sanctions imposed to induce negotiations, but these were applied to the entire former Yugoslavia and thus froze a military advantage to Serbia that was not conducive to a “mutually hurting stalemate” that might have induced negotiations. What ended the genocide was military victory, UN-sanctioned airpower combined with the U.S. covert operations to sponsor the Croatian invasion of the Western Krajina region

of Bosnia, which had been conquered early in the war by the Bosnian Serb military and paramilitary supported by Belgrade. Another factor in the delayed reaction was the early development of what has come to be viewed in recent years as the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, which would legally permit UN Security Council authorizations for the use of force inside countries, such as Bosnia, that did not present any clear “threat to international peace” and before all peaceful alternatives had been clearly attempted and exhausted first.

However, U.S. domestic politics played a key role. Public opinion bears directly on decisions to intervene because presidents weigh its effects on their own political fortunes in upcoming elections. Presidential approval ratings are the best predictors of presidential reelection, even more than the perceived state of the economy, and hence strongly influence presidential decision making. In 1994, Clinton’s approval ratings declined to the lowest level of any U.S. president at that time. While domestically he was secure, the situations in Haiti and Bosnia, with the constant images of starving refugees, killings, and U.S. inaction, contributed heavily to low public perceptions of his performance as president. This motivated Clinton to change policy. Less than two months before the 1994 Congressional midterm elections, Clinton made the decision to invade Haiti. Bosnia’s Dayton talks took place during the Democratic primary, less than a year before the 1996 presidential election. Clinton’s approval rating specifically in foreign affairs also reached a nadir for 1994 at only 40 percent positive and 55 percent negative for the September 1994 poll. Clinton’s stance on the use of force in Bosnia largely mirrored the ups and downs of U.S. public opinion polls. In May 1992, 55 percent of those polled opposed U.S. air strikes against the Serbs, and 61 percent of women—the base of swing votes that had brought Clinton victory in 1992—opposed them. Even Clinton’s own putative base of Democratic voters opposed U.S. armed intervention by 55 percent to 36 percent. By July 1992, only 35 percent favored the “US taking the lead with air strikes against the Serbs.”

Thus, the U.S.-led response, legally sanctioned by the UNSC in 1995 and implemented by NATO in Bosnia, reflected political calculations by President Clinton that were politically motivated and not based on either international legal mandates or moral responsibilities. The European Union was so divided that the newly instituted effort to create a military branch of the EU was doomed to failure. The United States, as the only leading power after the Cold War, was the only entity capable of leading a military intervention against an armed assault that was vastly more horrific and powerful than the armed insurgencies

and counterinsurgences, as well as other forms of asymmetric warfare, experienced in the previous decade's military conflicts in Africa and Central America.

Henry Carey

Chronology

1944

Raphael Lemkin introduces the word “genocide,” created from the Greek *genos* (“nation” or “tribe”) and the Latin suffix *-cide* (from the verb *caedere*, “to kill”).

1948

December 9: United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UNCG) is adopted by the UN General Assembly.

1951

January 12: UNCG comes into force as international law.

1963

April 7: Yugoslavia is proclaimed a socialist republic, and Josip Broz Tito is named president for life.

1973

December 3: UN General Assembly adopts Resolution 3074, Principles of International Co-operation in the Detection, Arrest, Extradition and Punishment of Persons Guilty of War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity.

1980

May 4: Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito dies.

1984

February 8: The 1984 Winter Olympics open in Sarajevo (until February 19).

December 10: UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment is adopted by the UN General Assembly.

1987

April 24: Slobodan Milosevic's power in Serbia grows with trip to Kosovo, where he makes an inflammatory speech: "Nobody should beat you." At large, public rallies Serb nationalists embrace him when he dramatically promises to defend their interests.

1989

March 1: Curfew imposed by Milosevic in Kosovo, where protests continue over the alleged intimidation of the Serb minority.

March 3: Yugoslav presidency imposes special measures assigning responsibility for public security to the federal government, removing Kosovo's autonomy.

May 8: Slobodan Milosevic becomes president of Serbian Republic within Yugoslavia.

November 9: The Berlin Wall falls.

1990

May 26: Alija Izetbegovic founds the Party of Democratic Action.

July 25: The Serbian Democratic Party declares the sovereignty of the Serbs in Croatia.

December 9: Slobodan Milosevic becomes undisputed president of Serbia.

December 21: Milan Babic announces the creation of the Serbian Autonomous District (SAO) in Croatia.

December 22: The first constitution of the Republic of Croatia is adopted.

1991

March 9: Massive demonstrations arise against Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, resulting in a military presence in the streets; two killed.

April 1: The SAO declares its intention to secede from Croatia and join Serbia.

June 25: Yugoslavia begins to collapse as Croatia and Slovenia declare their independence; Serbian-dominated Yugoslav military forces attack Slovenia with the aim of bringing it back into the federation.

July 7: After a short but intensive independence struggle, the Brujuni Agreement ends the Ten-Day War in Slovenia and ensures Slovenian independence.

August: Bombings by Croatian Serb militants and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) begin against Vukovar.

October 8: The Croatian Parliament cuts all remaining ties with Yugoslavia.

November 18: Serb troops take Vukovar after a brutal and destructive 87-day siege and commit the worst massacre in Croatian history.

November 18: A Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosnia is declared to be a separate entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina by Mate Boban.

November 27: The UN Security Council unanimously adopts a resolution opening the way to the establishment of peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia.

1992

January 9: Bosnian Serbs declare their own republic (Republika Srpska) within Bosnia-Herzegovina.

January 15: The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) breaks up, as Slovenia and Croatia receive international recognition.

February 21: UN Security Council approves Resolution 743 to send a peacekeeping force, UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force), to Yugoslavia.

February 26: Goran Hadzic becomes premier of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK)

April 6: Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly (without the presence of Serb political delegates, who boycott) proclaims independence from Yugoslavia; independence is recognized by many countries and the UN within days; Serb troops besiege the capital city, Sarajevo.

April 7: Radovan Karadzic becomes president of Republika Srpska.

April 7: Serbian forces begin military actions in Foca.

April 8: The Croatian Defense Council (HVO) is formed.

April 14: Visegrad is occupied by the Yugoslavian People's Army.

April 28: Serbia and Montenegro, the two remaining constituent republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, reconstitute the state as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

April 30: Bridges spanning the Sava River bombed at Brcko.

May: The confinement of non-Serbian Bosnians begins in Omarska, Trnopolje, and Keraterm. The destruction of mosques, churches, and other culturally sacred sites begins.

May 2: Shelling of Sarajevo begins.

May 7: Bosnians and Croats who had not been evacuated from Brcko following the bombing are moved to holding centers in Luka.

May 25: Kosovar Albanians elect literary scholar and pacifist Ibrahim Rugova as president, in unofficial elections that are not recognized internationally.

May 27: Twenty-two people are killed in Sarajevo by a mortar shell while waiting in line for bread.

June: Women and children in Visegrad are burned alive in the Bikavac and Pionirska Street massacres.

June 1: Thirty-eight people are killed in Prhovo.

July 13: Partizan Sports Hall is first used as a detention center for women, children, and the elderly.

July 23: Approximately 70 Bosnian Muslims are killed in Brisevo.

August: Atrocities committed by the Bosnian Serb Army and Serbian police in Visegrad end, with approximately 2,000 dead.

August 25: The National Library of Sarajevo is destroyed by incendiary fire from Serb positions.

October 22: Sixteen Bosnian Muslims are killed in Sjeverin.

October 23: Prozor is attacked by Bosnian Croat forces; the homes of Bosnian Muslims are destroyed.

November 1: The Drina Corps, consisting of 15,000, is formed.

November 19: Ratko Mladic issues a directive ordering the Drina Corps to inflict the heaviest losses possible so as to force Muslims to leave eastern Bosnia.

1993

January 8: Hakija Turajlic is assassinated.

February 22: UN Security Council Resolution 808 established an international tribunal to prosecute violations of international law in Yugoslavia.

April 16: The UN declares safe areas, including the city of Srebrenica. Over 100 Bosnian Muslims are massacred in Ahmici.

May 25: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) is established by UN Security Resolution 827.

May 29: Inela Nagic becomes Miss Sarajevo 1993.

June 1: Protests erupt in Belgrade against Slobodan Milosevic; opposition leader Vuk Draskovic is arrested.

September 9: Croatian forces attack the Medak Pocket.

September 15: UN forces enter the Medak Pocket only to discover it has been completely destroyed.

October 23: A massacre at Stupni Do leaves 31 civilians dead and the village destroyed.

November 9: The *Stari Most* (Old Bridge), completed in 1566 at Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina, is destroyed by Bosnian Croat forces.

December 23: Zlata Filipovic and her family are flown to Paris following the publication of her diary.

1994

February 5: Markale market massacre in Sarajevo takes place when a Bosnian Serb Army mortar shell kills 68 civilians and wounds 200.

February 9: Vance-Owen Peace Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina announced.

February 28: U.S. F-16 fighters over Bosnia-Herzegovina shoot down four Serbian J-21s who were violating Operation Deny Flight and its no-fly zone.

March 3: The first battalion of Dutch paramilitary troops, known as Dutchbat, arrive in Srebrenica.

April: Serbs take 150 peacekeepers hostage in an attempt to halt NATO air strikes on Serbian locations.

April 22: NATO delivers an ultimatum threatening air strikes if Serbian forces do not fall back, halt attacks, and open Gorazde to UN.

December: Temporary cease-fire arranged by U.S. president Jimmy Carter.

1995

February 13: A UN tribunal on human rights violations in the Balkans charges 21 Bosnian Serb commanders with genocide and crimes against humanity.

May: Croatian forces attack Western Slavonia; some 18,000 Serbs flee.

May 25: Seventy-one people killed after a Croatian Serb shell hits Tuzla.

May 26: NATO forces organize air strikes against military targets.

July 11: Bosnian Serbs under the command of General Ratko Mladic take control of the UN safe area of Srebrenica; up to 8,000 Bosniak men and boys are murdered over the next 10 days.

July 13: Bosniaks detained near Kravica are executed.

July 14: Some 1,000 Bosnian Muslims held in Orahovac are executed.

July 15: Approximately 1,000 male Bosniaks are detained near Zvornik; they are later executed.

July 16: Twelve hundred Bosniak men are killed retreating from Srebrenica.

July 16, 1995: Some 500 Bosniak men detained in the Pilica Cultural Center are executed.

July 22: Six people are killed near Snagovo.

July 25: The UN safe zone of Zepa falls; women and children are allowed to evacuate in the days prior.

August 1: Bodies buried in mass graves in the areas of the Zvornik and Bratunac brigades are exhumed and reburied to conceal the extent of executions.

August 4: Croatians launch Operation STORM against Serbian forces in the Krajina, forcing a mass evacuation of Serbs into central Bosnia and Serbia.

August 5: Croatian forces take Knin and continue to advance.

August 7: Operation STORM ends with a UN-brokered cease-fire; remaining Serbian forces start surrendering.

August 28: A Serbian mortar shell near a Sarajevo market square kills 38 civilians.

August 30: NATO bombing campaign against Serb artillery positions begins, continuing into October; Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina begins offensives against the Bosnian Serb Army in Sarajevo, central Bosnia, and Bosnian Krajina.

September 6: NATO air strikes continue, after repeated attempts at a solution with the Serbs fail.

November 1: Negotiations begin for a peace settlement in the Bosnian War, held at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio.

November 10: General Tihomir Blaskic, former leader of the Bosnian Croat militia, is indicted for genocide by the ICTY; his forces killed hundreds of Muslims in Central Bosnia in 1992–1993.

November 16: ICTY indicts Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes during the Bosnian War, November 21: The Dayton Agreement to end the Bosnian War is reached at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio.

December 14: Dayton Agreement becomes operative and Bosnian War officially ends when it is ratified in Paris.

1996

February 10: Bosnian Serbs break off contact with the Bosnian government and with representatives of IFOR (the UN-approved NATO implementation of peace force), in reaction to the arrest of several Bosnian Serb war criminals.

February 29: The Bosnian government declares the end of the siege of Sarajevo.

May 19: Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic resigns from public office after being indicted for war crimes.

June 30: Vice President Biljana Plavsic of Republika Srpska becomes president in place of Radovan Karadzic.

July 11: ICTY issues arrest warrants for indicted Bosnian Serb war criminals Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

September 14: Alija Izetbegovic elected president of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the country's first election since the Bosnian War.

November 29: Drazen Erdemovic sentenced to 10 years in prison.

December 5: U.S. president Bill Clinton names Madeleine Albright the 64th secretary of state.

1997

February 4: Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic recognizes opposition victories in the November 1996 elections.

July 4: Mate Boban suffers a stroke and dies within the week; some suspect his death was faked to avoid war crimes charges.

1998

January 22: Goran Jelisic is captured by U.S. Navy SEALs and transferred to the ICTY to be tried for genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

February 28: Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) forces ambush Serbian police near Likosane; four are killed.

March 5–7: After KLA attacks on police, Serb security forces massacre over 50 members of Adem Jashari's family in the village of Prekaz; in the weeks following, tens of thousands rally in Pristina to protest the massacre. Serbs respond with counterdemonstrations.

March 7: In Rome, Madeleine Albright declares, "We are not going to stand by and watch the Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia."

March 23: Ibrahim Rugova reelected president of Kosovo with 99 percent of vote in controversial elections.

March 31: UN Security Council resolution 1160 condemns Yugoslavia's excessive use of force in Kosovo, imposes economic sanctions, and bans arms sales to Serbia.

April 23: In a national referendum, 95 percent of Serbs reject foreign mediation to solve the Kosovo crisis.

July 17: At a conference in Rome, 120 countries vote to create a permanent International Criminal Court to prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression.

Early August: Serbian forces intensify their summer offensive, attacking Kosovar villages in Drenica region, driving thousands into the hills.

October 16: Slobodan Milosevic agrees to allow unarmed OSCE cease-fire monitors—the Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM)—into Kosovo.

October 24: NATO supreme commander General Wesley Clark and chairman of the NATO military committee General Klaus Naumann travel to Belgrade; Milosevic agrees to reduce Serbian forces in Kosovo.

October 27: Serbia withdraws security forces from Kosovo; thousands of Kosovar Albanians begin to descend from the hills as winter threatens.

December 2: Radislav Krstic is arrested and transferred to ICTY jurisdiction.

1999

January 15: Racak Massacre, Kosovo: in retaliation for KLA attack on four policemen, Serb security forces kill 45 Kosovar Albanians. KVM director William Walker arrives on scene following day and blames Serbia for the massacre.

February 6: Rambouillet peace talks over the future of Kosovo begin in France; Milosevic refuses to attend.

March: The Serbian government allegedly begins Operation HORSESHOE.

March 18: The Rambouillet Accords are signed by Kosovar Albanian, American, and British representatives; Serbian and Russian representatives refuse to sign the document, which grants Kosovo autonomy and ensures the protection of human rights.

March 20: KVM leaves Kosovo; Serbian forces begin a new offensive in northeastern and north-central Kosovo; Western embassies begin withdrawing dependents and nonessential staff from Belgrade.

March 22: In a last-ditch effort to avoid war, Richard Holbrooke is sent to Serbia to deliver a final ultimatum to Milosevic; meeting fails to draw any concessions.

March 24: NATO launches air strikes against Serbia, the first time NATO has attacked a sovereign country (Operation ALLIED FORCE).

April 3: Central Belgrade hit by NATO missiles for first time.

April 7: Kosovo's main border crossings are closed by Serbian forces to prevent ethnic Albanians from leaving.

April 14: NATO aircraft bomb ethnic Albanian refugee convoy in western Kosovo after mistaking it for Serbian military trucks, killing at least 73 refugees.

May 27: The ICTY indicts Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in Kosovo.

June 9: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and NATO agree to terms as Milosevic surrenders.

June 10: NATO suspends air strikes after Slobodan Milosevic agrees to withdraw all Serbian forces from Kosovo June 12: NATO-led UN peacekeeping forces (KFOR) enter Kosovo in the aftermath of the peace settlement.

June 14: Ethnic Albanians beginning flooding back into Kosovo; within three weeks over 600,000 will return in one of the most rapid refugee returns in history; as many as 200,000 Serbs and Roma begin moving toward Serbia and Montenegro to escape feared retribution.

August 19: In Belgrade, tens of thousands of Serbs rally to demand the resignation of Slobodan Milosevic.

2000

January 15: Zeljko Raznatovic ("Arkan") is assassinated.

February: A Human Rights Watch report finds that 500 civilians were killed during Operation ALLIED FORCE.

March 3: Tihomir Blaskic is sentenced to 45 years in prison for the massacre of 100 Muslims in the Bosnian village of Ahmici.

September 24: Yugoslavian presidential elections are held; Vojislav Kostunica becomes president.

October 5: Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic steps down after widespread demonstrations throughout Serbia.

2001

January 23–January 25: UN war crimes prosecutor Carla Del Ponte demands that Serbia hand over Slobodan Milosevic to the ICTY.

April 1: Milosevic surrenders to Serbian special force police to be transferred to The Hague for trial on charges of genocide and complicity to commit genocide for crimes committed during the war in Bosnia from 1992 to 1995.

August 2: Radislav Krstic is sentenced to 46 years in prison; appeals sentence.

November 12: ICTY Prosecutor Carla Del Ponte submits the indictment against Slobodan Milosevic to the ICTY in session.

November 22: Judge Richard May at the ICTY confirms the indictment against Slobodan Milosevic.

2002

February 12: The trial of Slobodan Milosevic begins at the ICTY.

March 12: Serbian prime minister Zoran Djindic assassinated in Belgrade.

April 16: Dutch prime minister Wim Kok and his cabinet resign over Srebrenica genocide.

May 27: Lord Paddy Ashdown appointed as high representative in the Office of High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

July 1: The International Criminal Court (ICC) is established to prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression, effective immediately; the ICC is not authorized to try these crimes retrospectively.

2003

June 26: Biljana Plavsic begins her 11-year sentence for crimes against humanity.

2004

February 20: Vojislav Kostunica is appointed Serbian prime minister.

March 17: Organized violence breaks out over two days in Kosovo; 19 people are killed, 8,000 Serbian homes burned, schools and businesses vandalized, and over 300 Orthodox monasteries and churches destroyed.

July 23: The prince of Wales opens the reconstructed Mostar bridge, destroyed by Croatian forces in 1993.

2005

August 8: Milan Lukic arrested.

December 7: Ante Gotovina captured in Tenerife.

2006

March 11: Slobodan Milosevic dies in his cell of a heart attack just months before a verdict is due in his trial at the ICTY.

May 21: Referendum in Montenegro on whether or not to dissolve the union with Serbia; voters elect to separate.

June 4: Montenegro declares independence from Serbia.

2007

February 26: The International Court of Justice (ICJ) upholds the ICTY's earlier finding that the Srebrenica massacre constituted genocide and that Serbia failed to prevent the massacre, but clears Serbia of direct responsibility and complicity; the finding adds that there had been no wider genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, as the Bosnian government had claimed.

December 10: UN deadline for a negotiated settlement on the future of Kosovo passes without an international agreement.

2008

February 17: Kosovo declares independence.

May 30: Zeljko Mejakic is found guilty of crimes against humanity and war crimes.

July 21: Indicted war criminal Radovan Karadzic is arrested in Belgrade.

2009

February 26: Former Serbian president Milan Milutinovic is acquitted by ICTY for war crimes in Kosovo.

October 26: Trial of Radovan Karadzic begins and is immediately postponed until March 1, 2010.

2010

March 1: Bosnian wartime leader Ejup Ganic is arrested in London at the request of Serbia; a court later blocks a bid for his extradition.

2011

April 15: Ante Gotovina is sentenced to 24 years in prison.

May 26: General Ratko Mladic is arrested.

July 20: Indicted Serbian war criminal Goran Hadzic is detained in Serbia, becoming the last fugitive from ICTY to be apprehended.

December: Bosnia's Muslim, Croat, and Serb political leaders reach agreement on the formation of a new central government, bringing to an end 14 months of deadlock since 2010 general election.

2012

May 16: Major proceedings of the war crimes trial of Ratko Mladic open at The Hague.

May 26: The bodies of 66 killed in Visegrad during the 1992 massacre are buried following their discovery.

July: Large crowds attend the mass funeral of some 500 newly identified victims of the Srebrenica genocide.

December 12: Bosnian Serb general Zdravko Tolimir is convicted on six out of eight counts at the ICTY over the Srebrenica massacre: genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, extermination, murder, persecution on ethnic grounds, and forced transfer; he is sentenced to life imprisonment.

2013

May: A UN tribunal finds six former Bosnian Croat leaders guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity during the 1990s Balkan wars.

October: A huge mass grave containing the bodies of well over 1,000 people is located in the village of Tomasica in northwestern Bosnia.

2014

February 26: Prosecution case in Mladic case closed.

April 15: Trial Chamber at ICTY dismisses a motion for acquittal filed by Mladic.

May 19: Defense case in Mladic case commences.

2015

March 16: European Union (EU) foreign ministers and Bosnia sign Stabilisation and Association Agreement, raising the possibility of Bosnia joining the EU if it carries out key political and economic reforms.

April 8: Zdravko Tolimir's life sentence at the ICTY confirmed.

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About the Editor

Dr. Paul R. Bartrop is an award-winning scholar of the Holocaust and genocide. He is professor of History and director of the Center for Judaic, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies at Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Myers, Florida. In 2011–2012 he was the Ida E. King Distinguished Visiting Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Richard Stockton College, New Jersey. Between 1997 and 2011 he taught, and was then head of, the Department of History at Bialik College, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. Concurrently, he was for many years an honorary fellow in the Faculty of Arts and Education at Deakin University, Melbourne. He has previously been a Scholar-in-Residence at the Martin-Springer Institute for Teaching the Holocaust, Tolerance and Humanitarian Values at Northern Arizona University, and a Visiting Professor at Virginia Commonwealth University. In Australia, he also taught at the University of South Australia and Monash University.

The author or editor of 14 books, his published works with ABC-CLIO include *Modern Genocide: The Definitive Resource and Document Collection* (2015); *Encountering Genocide: Personal Accounts from Victims, Perpetrators, and Witnesses* (2014); and *An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Genocide Biography: Portraits of Evil and Good* (2012), which was awarded recognition by *Choice* as “Outstanding Academic Title 2013.” In addition, he has published numerous scholarly articles in journals and books. He has been a member of the International Association of Genocide Scholars and was for many years the Australian representative on the International Committee of the Annual Scholars’ Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches. He is a past member of the editorial advisory board of the international journal *Genocide Studies and Prevention*; a current member of the editorial advisory board of the journal

Holocaust and Genocide Studies and the advisory board of the Genocide Education Project, California; and senior consultant to the Jewish Holocaust Centre, Melbourne. Dr. Bartrop is currently vice president of the Midwest Jewish Studies Association and is a past president of the Australian Association of Jewish Studies.